20¢ FEBRUARY 13, 1950

New Republic

A.N.C.

THE HYDROGEN BOMB: *STRATEGY OF DESPAIR*

CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE

By E. U. CONDON

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H-Bomb!

PRESIDENT TRUMAN's go-ahead order on the hydrogen bomb is sensational news. Yet, at best, the situation created will be the reëstablishment of what we had before: temporary superiority in atomic weapons. At worst, it increases the hazards to life on this planet and renders more difficult final agreement on a workable control system under the UN.

¶ The *New Republic* has announced a series of four editorial articles on atomic control to begin in late February. This most recent development (not wholly unforeseen) enhances, if that is possible, the gravity of the issue and the importance of the search for a basis of agreement with the Soviets and other nations.

¶ While it is anticipated that the series can start as scheduled, account must be taken of the international reactions to the President's directive, as well as those of scientists and political leaders in this country. If there is delay, however, it will be brief.

¶ The four articles, the contents of which have already been announced in detail, will be modified where necessary to make allowance for the presumed return of our uncontested superiority in atomic research and weapons. But the basic problem remains unchanged. No final supremacy is ever possible in an armaments race. Such a race can end only in agreement or in war. As long as agreement is possible, an all-out effort must be made to find the ideas and formulas that may avert disaster.

¶ The *New Republic* series, it is hoped, even under these more difficult circumstances, will help revive the discussion begun three months ago and now in suspension awaiting Russia's return to the UN.

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New Republic

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EDITOR: Michael Straight

EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven

PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane

MANAGING EDITOR: Jack Weeks

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler

FOREIGN AFFAIRS EDITOR: Percy Winner

WASHINGTON BUREAU: Helen Fuller (Political Editor), Jean Begeman

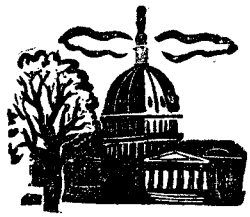
DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)

COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1950, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N.Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY 20¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

THERE IS an indefinable atmosphere in Washington of events rushing forward to some tremendous climax in which the hand of statesmanship can only weakly guide developments—if, indeed, they have not already passed out of all control. Truman has decided on the hydrogen bomb; he had no other course. The Fuchs development destroys the illusion of USA monopoly. Congress and the public clung to this illusion tenaciously. Now it is gone. They feel naked. For a while Congressmen will fend off reality by rushing around closing the doors of all manner of empty barns. But the reality of a potentially world-destroying atomic-arms race is there, a race on fairly even terms with the Russians.



The man who struck the new mood most accurately was Senator Brien McMahon (D, Conn.). While Defense Secretary Louis Johnson piped his puerile braggadocio about "licking hell" out of Stalin, McMahon spoke in the Senate with dignity, solemnity and moral fervor. At another time his proposal for a 10-year, $50 billion global Marshall Plan, including Russia, in return for UN atomic-bomb control would have seemed fantastic. It is a sign of the deepening gravity of affairs that an anxious and rather awed Senate was visibly impressed.

The nation needs moral leadership at this stage. It needs an explanation couched in simple terms; assurance that the firm but pacific motives of national leadership measure up to the challenge. One man alone can do this—the President. We think Truman should tell the country soon exactly where it stands, perhaps through the medium of a "fireside chat."

In characteristically bombastic language John L. Lewis rejected Truman's coal fact-finding-board proposal with its 70-day truce to be accompanied by "normal production" (*i. e.*, a five-day week). Such "normal production" would destroy the laboriously treated coal shortage that is the miners' chief bargaining weapon. Lewis' rejection is understandable in that sense. He is on a spot. The miners' discipline is wearing thin. They want a five-day, not three-day, week, but coal productivity is such that with the present number of mines and miners, this would produce a glut, cause layoffs and reduce bargaining power.

The basic question here is not autocratic Old Eyebrows. It is who will plan the coal industry. Sooner or later somebody has got to plan it, otherwise overproduction will restore old-time chaos and demoralization. The coal operators tried, but couldn't; Lewis has been trying by strong-arm methods, but success is doubtful. Our guess is that ultimately the government must step in and perhaps take over. In coal, as in agriculture, national planning of production is almost essential. It would shock a lot of Lewis-haters to discover that their rejection of his efforts had pointed the way to government "interference."

Some day a GOP Presidential candidate from Mississippi may run against a Democrat from Maine if the antiquated Electoral College is abolished. The Senate approved the proposed Lodge-Gossett constitutional amendment last week, 64 to 27. Nothing more exciting in the way of vitalizing American elections has happened in 162 years (yes, count 'em, 162). We could hardly believe our rheumy old eyes. In 1948 only half the voters voted; what good for a Dewey man to vote in Alabama or a Truman man in Kansas? The new system will play leapfrog with old conventions; it will make a voter's ballot count wherever cast; it may end one-party states and give the South two-party government.

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At present, if Dewey gets one more vote in Ohio than Truman, all 25 Ohio Electoral College votes go to Dewey; under the proposed system only 13 go to him, 12 to Truman. It would be better to allow direct voting for Presidents regardless of states, but this could hardly get past the state legislatures, three-quarters of which must ratify the new plan in the next seven years for it to become law. Of course the House must still act on it.

All those zealots who want the budget balanced are now denouncing Truman's mild tax move in that direction. They want the budget balanced by "economies" (*i. e.*, slashing welfare legislation at the expense of Have-nots) rather than by higher taxes (*i. e.*, nicking the Haves). Excise taxes bring in $4 billion annually; Truman's package plan would reduce them $600 million, but simultaneously put a $40 million bite on television sets. He would also take an extra billion from the Haves by higher corporation, estate and gift taxes.

The game now is to see whether Truman can keep his package intact or whether opponents split it in two: reduce excise taxes and do nothing about compensating increases elsewhere, leaving the deficit bigger than before. Many who beat their breasts for the balanced budget do not want it if it means higher taxes—which it should. It is funny to hear the cry of "politics" on the Truman tax proposal. All taxes, of course, are politics; the question is whether they aid the many or the few.

Notes. Headline in *Herald Tribune* last week just as Big Steel was telling Congress why it raised prices: "US Steel Profits At 20 Year High, Dividend Is Up." . . . Spectators constantly wonder at the Administration's lack of imagination: Truman's spectacular H-bomb decision could have been announced personally, from the UN rostrum, accompanied by a new call for peace. . . . Congress might have okayed a three-power pool of atomic-bomb secrets in another fortnight; the Fuchs case has killed it, at least for now.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Acheson-Truman Doctrine

SIR: I found your editorial, "The Truman Doctrine Is Dead" (the *NR*, January 23), very interesting and agree with many of your points, but I disagree with the two main premises: that the Truman Doctrine is dead, and that it was bad. You quote the President as saying in March, 1947: "It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

Let's not forget the word "minority." In Greece the rebels were the minority: witness the election in which Russia refused to act as an observer, though asked to do so, and in which the pro-Communists refused to participate. In Turkey, too, the pro-Russians were certainly a minority. However, in China a straight election between pro-Communist and pro-Kuomintang would undoubtedly have brought defeat to Chiang. And let's not forget the "outside" pressures. The United Nations has established the fact that the Greek rebels received outside aid. There is no definite proof that the Chinese Communists received material support from Russia.

The Greek government is not democratic. But Ethiopia was not democratic either in 1935. If there is a democratic Western Europe to be saved today by such measures as ECA and Point Four —which the *NR* supports—it is because in March, 1947, Truman called an end to Soviet aggression in Europe.

The President never said that we would intervene to prevent a country from going Communist of its own free will—though the Communists accused him of just that. The Acheson policy on China does not seem to me to contradict the Truman Doctrine.

Hollywood, Calif. BERNARD SINSHEIMER

Truman's Economic Advisers

SIR: I am very much interested in Richard Lester's article, "Truman Economics—1950 Model," in your January 23 issue. I agree with Mr. Lester that the Council of Economic Advisers (1) had not placed sufficient emphasis upon monetary, tax and expenditure policies; (2) is relying to too great an extent upon "hortatory and educational means"; and (3) has not spelled out what would be considered equitable distribution of the total product of business, labor and agriculture through the wage-price-profit structure.

On the other hand, I think Mr. Lester has failed to distinguish between the two sections of the Council's Economic Report—between the long-range goals of a $300 billion economy by 1954 and the specific programs suggested to implement policies in 1950. Granted that in connection with the long-range goals the Council engages in "hortatory and educational" discussions, what Mr. Lester seems to underestimate is the necessity for such goals to be enunciated. . . .

The Council states very clearly, as Mr. Lester points out, that the level of money wages should rise with increased productivity, so that the price level will remain reasonably stable. This is an extremely important and far-reaching declaration of long-run policy. It requires considerable discussion and understanding on the part of important segments of our business, agriculture and labor communities in order to be properly implemented. If it is not implemented, a high-consumption-level economy, which the Council strongly advocates and which Mr. Lester supports, is not attainable.

I have some question about the Council's reference to a 2 to 2.5-percent annual increment in wages because it makes no mention of wage changes justified as a result of imbalances which have developed through this postwar inflationary period. However, I am convinced that in such an enterprise economy as ours, it is essential for some organization like the Council to enunciate broad, general policies and sound long-range goals for our economy. . . .

To implement this long-range wage-price-profit goal of the Council, additional steps must be taken beyond "educational and hortatory" discussion. . . . I would like to make the specific suggestion that an agency of the federal government be granted the authority to collect basic facts on cost of production, profit margins, costs of distribution, retained earnings, investment policies, etc., and then to hold a public hearing, question the business and industrial leaders about their decisions to increase prices, to invest, etc., in the light of the facts and figures which have been collected.

The discussion of long-range goals and policies of our economy, conducted by the Council, is an important backdrop for such public hearings. If a government agency could hold hearings, subject to public scrutiny, an important contribution could be made toward forcing industry to understand the importance of wage-price-profit relationships and other long-range goals of investment, consumption, etc. . . . The wage-price-profit technique of redistribution

(Continued on page 31)

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VOLUME 122, NUMBER 7, ISSUE 1837, NEW YORK CITY, FEBRUARY 13, 1950 **New Republic**

THE HYDROGEN BOMB

THE PRESIDENT has ordered the Atomic Energy Commission to make hydrogen bombs. The decision has been well received. In Congress, whatever deterioration may have set in to mar the harmony of bipartisan foreign policy, bipartisanship in bomb-building policy is plainly assured. American newspapers have blessed the decision in the form of self-congratulatory editorials that avoid the real issue.

The real issue was restated last week by 12 leading atomic scientists:

> Few of the men who publicly urged the President to make this decision can have realized its full import. . . . No nation has the right to use such a bomb, no matter how righteous its cause. This bomb is no longer a weapon of war but a means of extermination of whole populations. Its use would be a betrayal of all standards of morality and of Christian civilization itself. . . . To create such an ever present peril for all the nations in the world is against the vital interests of both Russia and the United States.

In our opinion the significance of the President's decision transcends the destructive potentialities of the bomb itself. The tragedy of his decision is political rather than statistical. It is, above all, a confession of defeatism, a failure of initiative, of imagination, of bold thinking and of moral conviction in dealing with the crucial problem of modern times.

A few months ago it was learned that the Russians had exploded an atomic bomb. What was encouraging in the response to this announcement was the quite prevalent opinion that, as our problems were new, we had to think anew. Since the US proposals for international control of atomic energy, whatever their original merit, were based on the concept of an American monopoly of bomb production, it was held that they would have to be revised radically to conform to altered circumstances. For a brief time there was a lifting of hearts and fresh hope that a more realistic atomic-disarmament system would be devised and that America would regain some of the moral authority it had been losing steadily since Hiroshima.

President Truman has now presented America's solution, and with it he has reduced these hopes and deepened despair. He has suggested that the best we can do to still the anxieties of mankind is to build bigger bombs and to restore, if possible, our former monopoly of absolute destructive power.

This is not the time or place to examine the technology of hydrogen bombs or their military effectiveness. It is necessary, however, to remind ourselves that the problems of atomic politics cannot be solved by atomic bombs. The Baruch proposal, the Acheson-Lilienthal plan, with its UN modifications, have proved inadequate and unacceptable. They are antiquated in relation to the hydrogen bomb, because it has not only increased but complicated the control problems. Moreover, in this new field of technology Russia and the US are on fairly equal footing. A greater stockpile of uranium-plutonium bombs, as competent scientists already have advised, gives us only a comparatively minor advantage in the making of hydrogen bombs, since U-P bombs are merely "triggers" for the larger weapon and from that standpoint we now have a surfeit of triggers. But the primary reason for the obsolescence of our control proposals is that they are based on the absurd political premise that we can place the Russians on probation and take them in as partners when they have proved their virtue. We are certainly in no better position to dictate to the Kremlin than the Kremlin is to dictate to the White House.

We are not the keeper of the world's conscience; the arbiter of its morals; the helmsman of its course; the judge of its errors. We hold no monopoly of its resources, of its wisdom or of its weapons. We are not alone in seeking security and peace. We have no unique genius for prescribing the methods by which these ends can be promoted.

If we follow the course of building new weapons whenever others presume to reproduce our latest models, if our cure for the world's disease is merely to make it worse, the outcome is inevitably war.

II

The President's decision, we have suggested, was political rather than technical. Its validity ultimately rests on the correctness of its political assumptions concerning the structure and spirit of Soviet Communism.

If Soviet Communism, like German Fascism, can foresee only its conquest of an unwilling world, or its

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collapse under the threat of total destruction; if, like Nazi Germany, it sees in war the inevitable and rightful means to its ends, then the non-Soviet world has no alternative but to amass its own power to destroy.

But to the extent that Soviet Communism is willing to compromise, is anxious to avoid war, and is subject to internal change, our unwillingness to search out these qualities and our incitement of an atomic-armaments race become a crime against humanity.

By all our values Soviet Communism is evil. Is it so evil that the prospects of human extermination still leave no common ground of agreement? The best interpretation of Russia that we have to guide us was given in *Foreign Affairs* two years ago by George F. Kennan in "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." A rereading today of his article indicates that while its arguments have been misunderstood and its proposals wrongly applied, its basic premises remain. They discredit the widely accepted view that Russia alone is to blame for the present breakdown and refute the President's attitude of defeatism and despair.

Russia, Kennan argued, is governed by a ruthless and unprincipled dictatorship, but not one dedicated to war. It has failed to provide a substantially better life for its citizens. Largely for this reason, the organs of suppression created to consolidate the dictatorship have become "the masters of those whom they were designed to serve." Yet the Russian people hate terror and suppression; only by the "semi-myth of implacable foreign hostility" can the rulers of Russia justify their methods and their failures. For this reason they are irrevocably committed to the concept of an innate antagonism between capitalism and socialism. This antagonism, they insist, will end, under Soviet direction, in the victory of world Communism. But war is not the method by which this victory is achieved. It comes about through the inevitable collapse of capitalism. So, in contrast to Hitler, for whom war was mandatory and peace unthinkable, Stalin wishes to avoid war and can always retreat.

The Kremlin [Kennan wrote] is under no ideological compulsion to accomplish its purposes in a hurry. Like the Church, it is dealing in ideological concepts which are of long-term validity and it can afford to be patient. It has no right to risk the existing achievements of the revolution for the sake of vain baubles of the future. The very teachings of Lenin himself require great caution and flexibility in the pursuit of Communist purposes. Again these precepts are fortified by the lessons of Russian history: of centuries of obscure battles between nomadic forces over the stretches of a vast unfortified plain. Here caution, flexibility and deception are the valuable qualities, and their value finds natural appreciation in the Russian or the Oriental mind. Thus the Kremlin has no compunction about retreating in the face of superior force. And being under the compulsion of no timetable, it does not get panicky under the necessity for such retreat.

When the opportunities for revolution exist, Kennan noted, Soviet ambitions expand: "A thrill of hope and excitement goes through the Communist world." When the opportunities are not present, the Soviet government lapses into caution and a willingness to compromise.

Consequently, Kennan concluded, "It is entirely possible for the United States to influence by its actions the internal developments both within Russia and throughout the international Communist movement, by which Russian policy is largely determined."

In this analysis Kennan presented a viable approach to Russia.

Its original premise was that the world is too richly diffuse to be organized by a single, rigidly orthodox faith.

Its basic assumption was that the danger of the Soviet regime was less its Communism than its extremism in insisting that the world be reshaped in its image.

Its central principle in dealing with the Russians was to persuade them, as the Moslems were finally persuaded, that it is impracticable to say to all peoples: *Face Islam or die.*

The ultimate reliance is patience, in the spirit of Justice Holmes's conviction that "time wears away many fighting faiths."

Kennan proposed two main lines of American policy toward Russia:

¶ First, a policy of "long-term, patient but firm containment of Russian expansive tendencies."

¶ Second, a policy "to promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the breaking up or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power."

The first of these policies has been improperly applied; the second largely ignored.

"It is important to note," Kennan wrote of the containment policy, "that such a policy has nothing to do with outward histrionics, with threats or blustering, or superfluous gestures of 'toughness'."

In addition, he insisted that the success of a policy of political containment depended on keeping the door open to negotiation and compromise *at all times.*

While the Kremlin is basically flexible in its reaction to political realities [Kennan wrote] it is by no means unanswerable to considerations of prestige. Like almost any other government it can be placed by tactless and threatening gestures in a position where it cannot afford to yield even

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though this might be dictated by its sense of realism. . . . It is a *sine qua non* of successful dealing with Russia that the foreign government in question should remain at all times cool and collected and that the demands on Russian policy should be put forward in such a manner as to leave the way open for a compliance not too detrimental to Russian prestige.

Here Kennan followed a classical rule of diplomacy and warfare: In the absence of a decisive victory always leave open to the opponent an avenue of retreat. We ignored this rule. Our shortsightedness cannot be excused by the brutality of the Berlin blockade or the maddening duplicity of Soviet spying; for this kind of brutality and duplicity were foreseen and allowed for in our basic analysis of Soviet conduct.

The Truman Doctrine in its rigid and universal opposition to Soviet Communism closed the door to compromise. The creation of the West German state closed down a main area of negotiation for the neutralization of Germany. The overemphasis and display given to the defense of Europe in the North Atlantic Pact and the Military Assistance Program were "outward histrionics and gestures of toughness" which placed the Russians in a position in which they could not afford to yield in Eastern Europe. The Baruch Plan was certainly not conceived or advanced "in such a manner as to leave the way open for a compliance not too detrimental to Russian prestige." Last, America's unwillingness to open negotiations for a realistic settlement on atomic energy, and our new decision, instead, to proceed alone with the hydrogen bomb, violates every principle of securing peace with Soviet Russia.

The program of containment has been distorted for the past two years. The program of promoting change for the better within Russia has been ignored. One superb effort was made in the Marshall Plan. The Soviet Union considered it and turned it down. A second effort has been hinted at in the program of technical assistance. In silent acknowledgement of its previous blunder, the Soviet government has voted for the technical-assistance program in the UN. Meanwhile, in Asia, the way for Soviet expansion has been opened, lessening the hope of compromise by negotiation.

III

Is negotiation in good faith possible with Russia today? It requires recognition of a community of aims, and, according to Kennan,

> there can never be on Moscow's side any sincere assumption of a community of aims between the Soviet Union and powers which are regarded as capitalist. . . . If the Soviet government occasionally sets its signature to documents which would indicate the contrary, this is to be regarded as a tactical maneuver permissible in dealing with the enemy (who is without honor), and should be taken in the spirit of *caveat emptor*.

Yet this does not mean that all agreements with Russia are worthless. It means simply that instead of relying on good faith in concluding agreements with Russia we must rely on self-interest; instead of emphasizing honor and the sanctity of signatures, we must undertake constantly to develop the background of common self-interest which alone can give substance to an agreement with Russia—or for that matter, an agreement with any nation.

Is it in Russia's self-interest to reach an agreement prohibiting the development and use of atomic weapons?

If we consider only the agreement demanded by Baruch, the answer is obviously *No*. The political background is not present today in which Russia's self-interest compels her to capitulate. On the contrary, the political tide is running in Russia's favor; all of Asia lies open to Communism; the capitalist West is uncertain and divided; for the first time in its 33-year-old existence the Soviet Union has a full-fledged partner and ally in Communist China.

Russia is in no mood to submit to inroads on her sovereignty. Yet her record on atomic armaments is morally stronger than America's. Russia has dropped no bomb; she has amassed no huge stockpile of bombs; she has not threatened other nations with the bomb or used it as a form of pressure; instead, Soviet leaders have insisted that they will not use the bomb as a weapon of expansion and that they will build only enough bombs to protect their own nation.

From Moscow the New York *Times* reports that "the Soviet government . . . is prepared today—and, in fact, has been prepared for the last year—to meet with the United States in a two-power effort to solve the major problems . . . including the question of atomic controls." If Kennan's basic analysis of Soviet Communism still stands, then it is in Russia's interest to conclude an agreement on atomic energy which does not violate her sovereignty in the economic, social and political spheres and yet provides effective control over atomic armaments.

IV

Is America willing to negotiate with Russia? Because the question is shocking it is no less real. Truman has not only turned his back on new efforts to negotiate; he has rejected Senator Vandenberg's proposal that we offer to halt bomb production if negotiations can lead

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to a settlement, and he has added that there is no point in notifying the United Nations of our renewed interest in international atomic controls. This is the President who, five years ago, insisted that in the atomic age "disillusionment . . . insidious skepticism . . . a loss of faith in the effectiveness of international coöperation . . . would be nothing short of disastrous."

The hardening of the President's attitude is symptomatic of a deeper illness. These days children are taught how to read in order that they may read anti-Communist tracts; union leaders maintain that repressive labor legislation is evil *because* it aids Communism; God is honored as the chief anti-Communist. Under the weight of these prejudices even men of good will such as Senator McMahon, who seeks some turnoff on the road to war, prefer to offer bonuses to Russia if she will accept American ways of thinking, rather than readjusting our ways of thinking to the world as it exists today.

Prejudice and fear are the principal enemies to negotiation. And yet the necessity for negotiation is greater than ever before. Not only peace but our national interest compels America to make new efforts to negotiate. For once America gives up her active search for peace, we lose all hope of reaching the peoples of Communist countries; we lose our ties with friendly and allied nations which cannot willingly accept war; most grave of all, we lose the basic moral purpose that forms a nation from this continent of many races and faiths.

For five years the American people have been goaded into hatred and fear of Soviet Communism. Yet they see no end to hatred but war and they still believe in peace. Today a serious effort to negotiate a new agreement on atomic armaments would be welcomed by Americans with relief. Yet we doubt if this spirit can survive the next stage of the armaments race, which is the dispersion of our industries, our cities, our homes, our lives. The prospect of the last war was so dreadful that it disintegrated traditional values, giving impetus to pacifism in Britain, defeatism in France, sympathy for Fascism throughout Europe. What new attitudes will form as the far more terrible prospects of the next war are fastened upon our minds, we do not know. But we are sure that we must seek to negotiate while common sense and sanity remain.

THE WEEK

THE TELEPHONE WORKERS

During the last ten years the weekly wages of telephone workers fell from seventh to twenty-fifth place among the big groups of American wage earners. The Bell System's reluctance to meet the current demands of its 320,000 union employees again threatens the country with a nationwide strike. As the "real wages" of other industries have climbed, the telephone workers' have lagged far behind, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In 1939, auto workers earned 97 cents a week more than telephone workers; today they earn $16.76 a week more. Rubber workers in 1939 earned $4.10 a week less than telephone workers; today they earn $8.28 more. Steel workers earned $4.42 a week less; today they earn $9.66 more. "Such statistics reflect the Bell System's policy to depress wages in the industry so as to maintain an unnecessarily high profit," Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America (CIO), charges. "The Bell System is the world's largest single industrial enterprise . . . a corporation of almost $11 billion. . . . Yet it never hesitates to use its vast powers to hold its workers in subjection."

The postwar period has been a turbulent one for telephone workers. In 1946, the National Federation of Telephone Workers (predecessor of the CWA-CIO) asked Bell to meet the national wage pattern of that year by an increase of 18.7 cents per hour. In a settlement 25 minutes before the strike deadline, increases of 17.6 cents were accepted as the basis for settlement of all pending disputes between NFTW unions and the companies. A year later, Bell resisted any new wage demands and a bitter six-week national strike resulted. Again telephone workers had to accept below-pattern increases. In 1948, with the cost of living at a new high, the telephone workers demanded an increase. Still recovering from the strike of 1947, they again were forced to settle below the pattern. This year, with the full support of the CIO and its international unions, the CWA is in a better position. Last week CIO President Philip Murray offered his personal help in negotiating with the Bell System.

The CWA, according to Beirne, is seeking a substantial wage increase, a 35-hour work week, shorter wage-progression schedules, narrowed geographical wage differentials, a negotiated and improved pension plan, better vacations, paid time for voting, and other improved working conditions. (On pensions, the union is pressing for further reforms, including a $100-a-month minimum pension to be paid by the company and guarantees not included in the present plan.) Job security and pensions are of primary concern since part of the industry's program involves conversion to dial

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handling of phone calls. The union estimates that during the next few years 100,000 telephone operators will become victims of the unemployment that has been caused by these technological changes.

STRUGGLE IN INDO-CHINA

Indo-China is rapidly emerging as another focal point in the present world struggle for power between East and West. This area has long been a French colony; and like all colonies everywhere, it has in recent years been boiling with a demand for political and economic freedom. The French, like the Dutch in Indonesia, have tried to check the movement with concessions which mean little; the plan did not work in Indonesia, and if it seems to succeed temporarily in Indo-China, this will only be because the country is the scene of a struggle between tremendous forces which originated beyond its borders.

After long backing and filling, France has at last recognized the "independence" of its own puppet government under Bao Dai, who was formerly Emperor of Annam, one of the five states of the Indo-Chinese Federation. But this independence is *nothing but a grim joke as long as* France continues to control the major courts, the currency, the armed forces and foreign relations. Opposing Bao Dai is Ho Chi-minh, a Communist leader who controls a good deal of territory and has the aid of many conservative Vietnamese, who hate the French even more than they hate Communism. Ho, in deference to his non-Communist supporters, has advanced slowly and cautiously, emphasizing the struggle for freedom and making few Communist reforms; he even dissolved the Indo-Chinese Communist Party about five years ago.

Since Chiang Kai-shek was driven off the Chinese mainland, the Chinese Communist army has stood at the northern border of Indo-China and it is generally assumed that these troops will soon come to the aid of Ho (already there have been three successive reports that the border has been crossed). Although France is spending a huge sum on military aid to Bao Dai, nobody believes he could hold out very long without tremendous additional help from some other source —preferably, of course, the United States.

Will such aid be forthcoming? It seems probable that it will, if indeed it has not already started. Russia (and Czechoslovakia) have recognized the government of Ho, a fact that has caused strained relations between Moscow and Paris. The Ceylon British Commonwealth Conference moved toward recognition of Bao Dai, and last weekend there were reports that both Britain and the United States were about to extend recognition to him, as a preliminary to extensive financial and military support.

This policy represents a sharp change from that which Secretary Acheson announced in his famous National Press Club speech. At that time he declared that American military intervention on the Asiatic mainland would be futile, that it would alienate the masses of the people, and that in Southeast Asia we should try to stop Communism by raising the standard of living, through Point Four activities. But apparently the *pressure has been too great, and we* are going back to a policy that has been a disastrous failure before and seems reasonably sure to be an equally disastrous failure again.

QUEER COMPANY

The American Legion, warmly supported by the Hearst press, held a great anti-Communist jamboree in New York City last fortnight. All the usual organizations were represented, including the Daughters of the American Revolution and the National Association of Manufacturers, and their spokesmen said all the usual things. Ironic was the fact that among the organizations carefully excluded were such groups as the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Veterans Committee, which are fighting Communism in America in the only effective way, by seeking to combat the injustices on which Communist propaganda feeds.

Two other organizations were mixed up with this meeting, and should not have been. Among those invited was Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council, ultra-reactionary group, best known for its undying love of Franco. The second is the CIO, which was not only invited but was represented, in the persons of Harry Read, chairman of the Resolutions Committee and the "permanent committee" to prepare for future meetings, and CIO Vice-President James B. Carey. Carey said, if he was correctly quoted, that the American people should even join hands with Fascism, if necessary, in the fight against Communism.

MORRISON'S VICTORY

NEW ORLEANS (NR correspondent)

New Orleans' young reform Mayor De Lesseps ("Chep") Morrison has been reëlected to a second four-year term in a sweeping victory over the "old regulars" organization and Governor Earl Long. Morrison won by 64 percent of the record total of 184,000 votes cast. (Only 207,000 were registered; some 20,000 Negroes—another record—went to the polls.) The result will be to increase New Orleans' power in state politics and to make Morrison a figure of real political importance.

The fight between Morrison and the machine revolved around the city council. The last session of Governor Long's legislature changed the law providing for four members-at-large on the New Orleans Council to call for seven Councilmen to be elected from individual districts. This was supposed to allow the "old regulars," directed by former Mayor Bob Maestri and Representative Edward Hébert, to recapture the Council from Morrison. Instead, Morrison men won five of the seven seats outright and went into run-offs, leading the vote, for the two remaining places.

Morrison's new standing creates a difficult problem for young Senator Russell Long, who is running for reëlection in the August primary. If

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Morrison should oppose him, Senator Long might be beaten. Russell took no part in the New Orleans mayoralty fight and Morrison's quarrel with the Longs, so far, has been confined to Uncle Earl.

It is far from impossible that, on the basis of the generally liberal record the young Senator made last year, some way can be found to make Louisiana politics big enough for both of them. If Russell Long and Morrison get together, the Mayor may have his choice in 1952 of Allen Ellender's seat in the Senate or the Governor's chair.

THE McMAHON PROPOSAL

Senator Brien McMahon (D, Conn.) is a warm-hearted, generous man. Like everyone else, he is appalled by the possibility of hydrogen-bomb warfare—or, for that matter, warfare with any atomic weapon. Last Thursday he made a stirring speech in the Senate in which he urged America to take the lead in an attempt to prevent the ultimate war with Russia which seems to come steadily nearer. He proposed that we use two-thirds of our present $15 billion annual arms appropriation for peaceful purposes, including expenditures under Point Four, the development of non-military uses of atomic energy, and economic aid to all the world—including Russia. The money would be spent through the UN and with two conditions: that there be general acceptance of real control of atomic energy, and that the countries benefited should divert two-thirds of their arms expenditures to peaceful, constructive purposes.

If such a program, covering at least five years and costing at least $50 billion, could bring peace, it would, said Senator McMahon, be the greatest bargain in our history. The ovation he received at the conclusion of his speech was a tribute to his contribution to the question whether we are to have one world or none. Senator McMahon's good impulses are only the beginning of the road that must be followed; much more will need to be done. It is to his credit that he has put into words the fears, hopes and determination to avoid war if it is humanly possible that are shared by so many millions of his fellow men.

THE POTATO PLETHORA

The potato crisis vividly dramatizes the basic failure of the Anderson price-support plan. Over the protests of Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan, who can now say "I told you so," Congress passed the Anderson Act last year, directing the Commodity Credit Corporation to support the price of potatoes at 60 percent of parity. This means about $2.10 per 100 pounds, or roughly about $1.25 a bushel. Such supports keep the market price high, even in times of great surplus. Brannan, on the other hand, urged at least a "trial run" of his plan which would let the retail market price fall to a point where all of the production is consumed. The farmer would receive production payments from the federal government to make up for the lower prices.

Last week, Brannan tossed the potato problem back to Congress to decide whether the 50 million bushels should be: (1) destroyed (the greatest willful destruction of food by any government in recorded history); (2) transported for use in the school-lunch programs at a cost to the government of from $12 to $14 million; or (3) converted to potato flour or commercial alcohol. He pointed out that, ironically, the Agricultural Act of 1949 provides for donation of commodities to charities only if they pay the transportation charges, but the same commodities can be distributed to livestock without such restriction.

The present law does not give the Department of Agriculture power to control potato production. Although potato raisers voted to cut their acreage, Brannan pointed out that the only penalty on those who fail to comply is to make them ineligible for price supports. The CCC expects to lose more than $90 million on the 1949 potato crop (the CCC estimated the potato program would cost around $60 million, but production of late potatoes was far greater than earlier estimates).

According to the CCC, in the crop year ending last June, it cost the taxpayers more than $225 million to keep the domestic price of potatoes high, as directed by Congress. High prices reduced consumption, and the per-capita use of potatoes last year dropped to only 106 pounds (the lowest in history, and about 15 percent below recent years).

The most serious aspect of the potato crisis, Agriculture experts realize, is the already evident surplus of butter, eggs, poultry and hogs—the "perishables" Brannan warned Congress about last year. Potatoes will undoubtedly be the primary subject for debate that may result in the trial run desired by Brannan.

"One of us is going to settle things for a long time."

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CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE

by E. U. Condon

A REVIEW of the growth of science during the last fifty years raises at least three questions: What are its accomplishments? In what direction is it moving? And what is its relationship to man's total being? These are significant and difficult questions, far beyond the scope of this article. To raise them, to discuss them briefly and in part, and to make some statements of fact may, however, suggest the nature of contemporary science.

Here, what is meant by "science" is primarily the physical sciences and, more specifically, physics. This is not, in fact, a serious limitation partly because the distinction between the sciences is rapidly vanishing, and partly because physics has been the revolutionary member of the sciences which has profoundly affected all the others. This influence has resulted not only from the applications of physics, with some of which almost everyone is familiar, but from both the theoretical and experimental phases of the pure science.

Fifty years ago Planck's constant, the Lorentz contraction, and the theory of relativity were unheard of. The Bohr atom was unknown; twenty years were to pass before cosmic rays were even recognized; and another ten before the impact of quantum mechanics was to be extensively felt in theory and experiment. The neutron, deuterium, artificial radioactivity, the neutrino, the mesotron were unknown twenty years ago; and it was not until ten years ago that our general ideas about nuclear physics had reached the point where atomic energy appeared feasible. It was in January, 1939, that Bohr brought the news of the discovery of uranium fission from the Berlin laboratories of Otto Hahn to a physics conference in Washington. Only ten years have passed since our recognition of the possibility that slow neutron chain reactions, promising atomic power, and fast neutron chain reactions, promising a military weapon of unprecedented destructiveness, might be obtainable if certain parameters had suitable values.

Looking back upon these years, it is clear that both theory and experiment progressed at a staggering tempo. What this has meant in terms of ideas, concepts, and methods of approach is apparent in the changes that have occurred in our interpretation of the three really basic measurements: time, mass, and length.

According to the classical concepts of physics, time was absolute in the sense that all observers having a clock, irrespective of their positions and motions, would record the same interval of time in measuring some event in the universe. Einstein's theory of relativity abolished this absolute, showing that time is relative to each observer, depending upon the motion of each observer.

Whereas classical physics accounted adequately for the motions of rather large masses, it proved unsatisfactory once extremely small masses were revealed by the experimentalists and once particles having exceedingly high velocities were involved. Here quantum mechanics provided a more general theory, accounting satisfactorily for all observed phenomena, irrespective of mass or velocity, and into which Newtonian mechanics fitted as a special though very important case. Moreover, the concept of mass as a substantial thing, familiar through sense perceptions, gave way to Einstein's formulation of its equivalence with energy, commonly thought of as something insubstantial.

At the same time our assurance that length was an absolute was shaken. Length involves comparison; one adopts an arbitrary length, say, and compares the unknown with this conventional standard. But it turns out that the standard is not without its variability. Like time, length depends upon a coördinate system, for it changes with velocity.

In each of these measurements, the objection may be made that the new concepts have little to do with practical affairs; the kilogram and meter still serve us as standards of mass and length while the rotation of the earth provides the standard for measurements of time. If by practical affairs we also mean science, both pure and applied, then the objection has no merit. Certainly without these concepts the advance in physics—as publicly spectacular as atomic energy, for example—would not have occurred. Beyond this, it is precisely developments of this kind—

This is the first in a special series of articles with which the New Republic is celebrating its thirty-fifth anniversary by commenting on various aspects of Western civilization halfway through the twentieth century. The next in the series, by Elmer Davis, will deal with plans for world government.

Dr. Edward U. Condon has been Director of the National Bureau of Standards, a branch of the Department of Commerce, since 1945. He was born at Alamogordo, New Mexico, near the site of another famous birth, that of the atomic bomb. He holds degrees from the University of California, has taught at Columbia, Princeton and Minnesota, served as associate director of the Westinghouse Research Laboratories, and is the author of several books in the field of theoretical physics. He is also famous for having been the subject of long-continued mistreatment by the House Un-American Activities Committee, mistreatment which has become such a national scandal that it was discussed at length in a special article in the current issue of Harper's.

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relativity and quantum mechanics—which have given us new insight into the structure of the universe. The fact is that science is now more concerned with minute particles like neutrons, protons and mesotrons, and with the high energies and velocities associated with these particles, than with any other single aspect of the physical universe.

The new concepts have brought with them requirements for precise and subtle measurements undreamed of fifty years ago. To take these same three basic measurements: time, length, and mass are now experimentally no longer dependent upon gross standards. Both the kilogram and the meter represent arbitrary standards—in the one case the weight of a piece of metal, in the other the distance between two scratches on a metal bar. Time depends upon the irregular motion of the earth.

The need for greater accuracy and for subtler techniques in measurement has led to significant changes in our concepts of adequate standards for mass, length, and time. In each case, for example, recent work at the National Bureau of Standards points the way to atomic standards. The Bureau's development of an atomic clock, which depends upon the atomic structure of ammonia molecules, provides a time standard of considerably greater accuracy than the earth. Moreover, unlike the changing earth, this standard appears invariant and ageless. An atomic standard of length, which appears to provide an ultimate standard, has been developed in the form of the green radiation of mercury 198, an isotope obtained by bombarding gold with neutrons. Here the distance between fringes of the green line, which depends upon the invariant structure of the atom, provides a readily reproducible standard of unmatched precision. At the same time, the Bureau's measurement of the magnetic moment of the proton, taken in conjunction with measurements of the nuclear g-factor of the proton at Columbia University, has enabled Bureau scientists to determine with unprecedented accuracy the electronic charge-to-mass ratio. This in turn promises to afford an atomic standard of mass.

While this comparison of the classical and modern concepts of mass, length, and time suggests what has been happening in science and while the related experimental developments indicate the subtler standards, approaches and techniques critical in the exploration of the basic structure of matter, they do not reveal the radical change in methodology of theoretical physics. This change may be summarized by saying that formalism has usurped the place empiricism once held, or by saying that theoretical discoveries are no longer considered dependent upon experiment but upon mathematics. This does not mean that formal argument can "prove" the validity of a theory: experiment is still the test; but it does mean that theoretical physicists look to mathematics for discovery.

The first application of this powerful method in theoretical physics, prior to this century, was made by Maxwell. Taking a particular equation concerning certain magnetic fields, Maxwell recognized, on the basis of formal and mathematical considerations, that the equation could not be complete: one of the quantities, he saw, must be replaced by a more general expression which would have the property of simplifying to the simpler form under special conditions. By this purely formal consideration, he was able to arrive at the proper general expression and to make an extension of the equations in a way that led to the prediction of electromagnetic waves, a description of their properties, and hence to the whole electromagnetic theory of light.

The next great step of this kind was taken by Einstein in 1905 in his formulation of the principle of relativity. He found that the transformations between the reference systems of different observers in differing states of relative motion with constant relative velocity which were applicable in electrodynamics were different from those which were applicable in classical mechanics. It also appeared that the experimental data, of an optical kind, favored the validity of the electromagnetic scheme of transformation rather than that indicated by classical mechanics. He therefore had to seek a way to modify the Newtonian equations so that they would be governed by the Lorentz transformations but would nevertheless reduce to ordinary classical mechanics when all velocities are small compared to that of light.

From that time on, the method was fully established as a basic tool for construction of new theories in physics. The basic principle involved may be stated something like this: If we have really discovered the appropriate kind of mathematical framework for a given situation, then the actual law of nature will usually be found to be the simplest of the various mathematical possibilities consistent with the known requirements.

This method has been extraordinarily fruitful in the last twenty-five years. Schrödinger discovered the specific equations of wave mechanics by simple heuristic considerations of this sort. Perhaps its most striking and powerful achievement was its use by

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Dirac when he set up the simplest appropriate relativistic wave equation for the electron and showed that this automatically brought with it the properties of spin and the prediction of the existence of the positron. The whole theory of mesons and meson fields is a construction of this kind. The main trouble here seems to be that the younger generation of theoretical physicists is so facile at constructing new theories of this kind that we have an embarrassment of riches.

The direction, then, in which physics is moving, in its exploration of the universe, has already been implied. In theory, reliance will be placed, at least for some time to come, on the formal approach of mathematics. In experiment, continued and increased attention will be focused on the particles of nuclear and cosmic physics. These appear to be the directions that promise fuller knowledge of the structure of matter. The great questions here are, first, the nature of nuclear forces and, second, the nature and origin of cosmic rays.

Here we may well ask, what is the intellectual goal of physics? More specifically, what do we mean when we "explain" something in physics? "To explain" used to mean that the observed phenomenon had been successfully correlated with the behavior of some mechanical model according to Newtonian principles. But the construction of theories in modern physics has gone far beyond this limitation, and with it has come elucidation as to the meaning of "to explain" in physics.

Thus Percy Bridgman's critique of the concepts and procedures of physics is based on an insistence that maximum emphasis be placed on the idea that a concept must be identical with and fully determined by the physical procedures actually employed in observing the quantity which expresses the concept. His critique also illustrates one of the characteristic modern attributes of theoretical physics in its strong insistence on the elimination of any kind of dependence on non-essential or adventitious elements in a theory.

What then remains? I would add that the object of physics is so to organize past experience with relation to matter and energy, and so to direct the acquisition of new experience, that we may advance toward a goal in which it may ultimately be possible to predict the outcome of any proposed experiment which is capable of being carried out—and to make the predictions with the expenditure of less human effort than it would take actually to carry out the proposed experiment.

This statement is deliberately well qualified. It does not say that we can ever reach the goal—although the last fifty years have shown a great deal of progress toward it. The field of predictions is restricted to experiments which can actually be performed. And, finally, the whole activity is clearly linked to the pragmatic function of developing intelligence that will provide a more economical way to know and master our environment than the way of trial and error.

Just as the last fifty years have seen remarkable advances in pure physics—both theoretical and experimental—so, too, they have witnessed advances in applied science. For example, new branches of applied physics have sired new industries. A list of technological developments would include electric power, telephony, radio, television, x-rays, radiation therapy, light metals, magnetic materials and a host of others.

From time to time the value of applied science is questioned. It is criticized frequently on the grounds that it has contributed to the mechanization of life, that its contributions have been largely material, and that it has placed at our disposal weapons which we are unable to control and which appear likely to destroy us.

However, many of the problems and conflicts of modern national and international societies are related to disease and to lack of adequate food, clothing and shelter. The mere existence of areas in this plight means that potentially destructive conflict exists in the world. Not less but more applied science offers the real and practical possibility of alleviating these conditions.

Neither science nor scientists are inherently responsible for the destructive applications based on scientific developments. Science is largely an intellectual activity whose goal is knowledge of the universe. In its applied forms it is largely devoted to human good, as far as it itself is concerned or as far as scientists, by and large, are concerned. The destructive applications of science are determined by social and political institutions. No reasonable person criticizes religion either because a religious institution fails to live up to the precepts of its faith or because an individual adherent of it betrays that faith. In a similar fashion, criticism of applied science is rightfully directed against those institutions or groups which abuse science. In so far as scientists are, in fact, parts of these groups and institutions, they too share in this abuse, but their participation is as men, primarily, and not as a special class.

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Unfortunately, it is easier to find a scapegoat for our troubles than to admit our complicity as men involved in the total social situation. The responsibility for wars is everyone's responsibility, and to a greater or lesser degree every human being is guilty to the extent that he rationalizes his complicity, denies his social involvement, and rejects his humanity. The fact that scientific developments have been used as tools of destruction is an indictment of social man and not of science. Neither Genghis Khan nor Adolf Hitler found himself handicapped in his slaughter of millions of human beings merely because he did not possess atomic bombs. Those who wish to evade their consciences are those who now make science a scapegoat for what is a most unscientific type of human evil.

In both its pure and applied form, science has consistently stood for a freeing of man from irrational fears, superstition and ignorance. In this sense, it has been a factor contributing to the intellectual and spiritual growth of man. The emphasis on materialism has not been established by science. Science has made possible, by affording the methods and means for adequate material goods, an actual liberation from materialism. That there are serious deficiencies of such goods or inequities in their distribution in many portions of the world not only contributes to possible future conflicts but precludes the growth of spiritual and intellectual forces in any full sense: the hungry are generally much too preoccupied with visceral demands, the diseased with pain and death, the shelterless with weather, to have much care for either social, cultural or religious pursuits.

Now science offers a method for solving other than strictly technical problems. Strictly speaking, science is the process as well as the results of the study of the facts of experience derived from a conscious program of observing, while systematically varying the factors of a given situation, in order to arrive at a rational understanding of the observational data so obtained. Theoretical science, as I have indicated, has gone beyond this in recent years, utilizing mathematical logic as a creative tool but relying on experiment for verification. It is often said that the scientific method cannot be applied to social problems because one cannot perform and repeat the appropriate, controlled experiments. This criticism is valid only in a narrow sense.

First, because there are social problems which could be subject to the experimental approach in a rigorous manner if we became farsighted enough to invest the energy and time. Second, because the argument is based on an unrealistic comparison with the ideal even within science. In technology, particularly, many tests and experiments are made which are not really completely reproducible—sometimes the tests can be repeated only by using other samples than the original set, which may have been expended in the test, while sometimes it is not practical to go beyond the accumulation of a given amount of data. Yet valid decisions are made on such bases. The analogue in social problems exists where adequate data have been obtained for intelligent, objective analysis and deduction. This, in fact, is often done: the difficulty is that the conclusions are often not accepted as a basis for action because the method itself is suspect. It is suspect partly because passions run high in the field of social problems, which means that improper studies can be made and conclusions drawn either because the investigators are biased or because the audience is biased.

Third, the spirit of the scientific method is in itself salutary and powerful. This spirit is characterized by disinterestedness, objectivity and rationality. It leads, in science, to clear statements of the problem at hand, to the recognition of the type of data which must be obtained, to the rational design of methods of obtaining these data, to a logical analysis of the data, and, finally, to the conclusions that can be reliably reached. At present, however, social problems are apt to be coped with on the basis of personal or group opinions, prejudices and interest—or, at best, speculation.

It is speculation that science has eliminated from those fields in which it has proved its effectiveness, and it should be borne in mind, when science is attacked for its alleged materialism, that the reign of speculation has been instituted and fostered by the philosophers and humanists. Philosophy has been called a footnote to Plato: it was Plato who established the dichotomy between the material and the spiritual, and it was Plato who ensconced speculation on its throne, brushing aside the experimental approach, undermining the science of his day (which, at least in medicine, had progressed remarkably) and leading to the modern philosophers of despair and authoritarianism. It is no accident that Carlyle and Nietzsche were effectively exploited by the Nazis, for they had prepared Germany, in which their popularity was remarkable, for the worship of the leader, of the superman, of the super-race.

Much has been said of the influence of modern science—that of the last fifty years—on philosophy. Unfortunately, this has taken the form of mere specu-

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lation, of an inconsistent kind, and all schools have managed to find support for their own ideas in the new physics. Bertrand Russell points out that both the materialistic and idealistic philosophers have used Einstein's theories to justify age-old philosophies. Apparently, the theories of modern science are being regularly misinterpreted, in the usual speculative manner, while the significance of the method as well as the spirit of science is ignored.

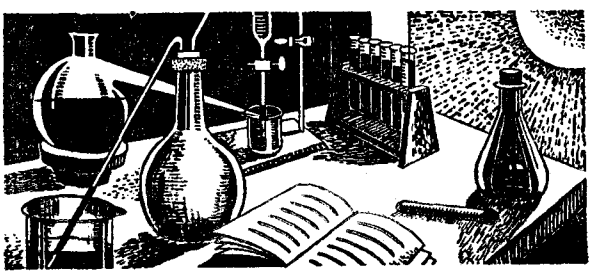
The interpretation of the Heisenberg uncertainty principle is a pertinent commentary on speculation of this type. To have complete knowledge of a particle and thus to be able to predict its future behavior, one must know two sets of data: the coördinates of its position, and its velocity. Heisenberg's principle reveals, however, that the greater the precision one attains in determining one of these sets of data, the less we know about the other set. This has had the philosophical interpretation of amounting to an overthrow of determinism, of materialism and of causality while reinforcing the theories of free will. It is difficult to determine the logical basis for these interpretations. Determinism still governs much of what are considered scientific situations and events: the application of science would be impossible if we were unable to predict accurately.

Finally, the interpretations of the principle ignore the vital context of the situation which explains why these determinations are impossible. Niels Bohr has put this succinctly: "It is not possible to separate between what we may call the independent behavior of objects and their interactions with the measuring instruments which are necessary for the very definition of a phenomenon." And he has pointed out that this is important, in the broadest sense, because it reveals the intimate relationship between the phenomenon and its environment, between the particle and the measuring instruments, between the individual and his surroundings.

Bohr's interpretation affords far more substance for philosophic and social reflection and consideration than speculations on free will based on misinterpretations of Heisenberg's principle. Yet it is doubtful speculation which has characterized most of the philosophic absorptions of modern science. One of the rare exceptions, one who has in a significant and profound way understood and used both science and the scientific method is John Dewey. He points out clearly that the growth of rational thought processes may be considered as a response to the biological necessity of adaptation to the environment. Its ultimate function, he says, is that of "prospective control of the conditions of the environment." It follows then that "the function of intelligence is therefore not that of copying the objects of environment, but rather of taking account of the way in which more effective and more profitable relations with these objects may be established in the future."

It would, of course, be foolish to conclude that science is a panacea for human problems or to exalt science unduly. Science has proved effective in certain areas of human activity, called the fields of science, not because "science" has magical attributes nor because there is a sure-fire, cure-all "scientific method" which belongs to and is the exclusive glory of science. In broad terms, the effectiveness of science has been possible because we have been willing to use in science what might be called logical empiricism, in which logic in the form of mathematics has provided theoretical advances while empirical observations have provided the experimental advances and the verification of our theories.

The argument for an extension of the scientific method into other fields where it may prove applicable is, therefore, not an argument for "science" in the narrow sense but rather an argument for an extension of the same logical empiricism which has become identified so intimately with science. That this is, indeed, the real nature of the argument can be seen by observing scientists themselves, who do not differ essentially from their fellow men except in so far as differences in work may be called that: While scientists utilize the scientific method in their work, they cannot be accused, in general, of deviating from the usual pattern of men in their failure to apply the same approach and attitudes to other aspects of their lives. Indeed, one can say in all fairness that only a small percentage of scientists have actually succeeded in applying the method fully enough even in their own work; the great achievements of science have been the fruit of a rather small portion. It is true that genius is and always has been a rare thing, whether in the arts or sciences. But the achievements of scientists would be considerably more astonishing were all scientists imbued deeply with the method.



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VIRTUE—A UNITED NATIONS PROBLEM

by Peter Kihss

IT IS ALWAYS EASY to take the side of majority virtue. In the United Nations, virtue is most easily defined as that side which votes against the Soviet Union. But sometimes it is interesting to examine the actions of the majority nations by the same standards that are applied to the policies of the USSR.

Mohammed Fadhil Jamali, of Iraq, recently cited an Arabic proverb to the UN General Assembly. Urging the admission of nations so far barred, Dr. Jamali appealed to critics of East and West to compare the would-be members with those which are already in the fold. "He who compares you to himself is not being cruel to you," he pleaded, translating the old Arabian adage.

Now the majority nations in the Assembly have in effect adopted a new code of UN behavior—an American-British resolution on "essentials of peace." The fervent debates left no doubt that all twelve points were aimed primarily at policies of the Soviet Union and other Communist nations.

With that resolution, the Assembly was in effect denouncing Cominform threats against Yugoslavia and Communist-sponsored violence in Greece, Korea, China and Southeast Asia. It was decrying Soviet propaganda campaigns against Iran and Turkey and other nations. It was appealing against Communist boycotts of the UN Balkan and Korean Committees and the Little Assembly. It was protesting Soviet refusal to allow migration of Soviet wives of foreigners; Bulgarian, Hungarian and Rumanian non-coöperation in human-rights checkups, and the Communist nations' refusal to permit investigation of slave-labor charges. It was condemning Soviet refusal to join most UN specialized agencies, Soviet barriers to news and cultural exchanges, a record of 41 Soviet vetoes in the Security Council, and Soviet opposition to majority atomic-energy and disarmament plans.

But the resolution was couched in general terms and its twelve points were addresed to all nations, naming none. And it might, as the Arabic proverb suggests, not be "cruel"—although, perhaps, it might be provocative—to look at the majority's own deeds in comparison with its words.

Such an examination, whatever the extenuating circumstances, indicates that most nations still have considerable work to do to bring their own conduct into line with the purposes and principles set down in the UN Charter.

Such an examination highlights once again the fundamental problem of the UN—namely, that all nations, and not only the Communists, have yet to learn respect for UN recommendations. It is collective recommendations that are still the UN's main reliance, rather than any world-government powers.

Skipping the Soviet complaints about war propaganda, military alliances and rearmament, this is the kind of scoreboard the famous world conscience would find if it were to tabulate the twelve points and a few of the more recent activities of the nations which voted for them in the Assembly:

THE WORD	THE DEED
1. Refrain from threatening or using force contrary to the Charter.	Israel and a non-UN member, Jordan, were both in effect warning the Assembly that it would take force to oust them from Jerusalem, a city the UN hoped to internationalize. India, which completed military occupation of Hyderabad last year amid Security Council debate, was ending that episode with the announcement that Hyderabad's Nizam had agreed to join the Indian Union. Nationalist China's warships were firing on American vessels to enforce a blockade that the US State Department refused to recognize.
2. Refrain from impairing the freedom or the integrity of states and fomenting civil strife.	The Afghanistan press and radio were celebrating the independence of a new "nation" called Pushtunistan in territory claimed by Pakistan. British and American broadcasts and other activities, according to Czechoslovakia, were encouraging opposition to Eastern European regimes. The Dominican Republic, over Cuban denials, was complaining of an anti-Dominican plot being hatched on Cuban soil.

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3. Carry out international agreements in good faith.

The US had suspended reparations deliveries from Japan, overriding protests in the Far Eastern Commission by such nations as the Philippines, which was claiming a $4.5 billion war-damage bill.

Eastern European nations were complaining that their repatriation missions were no longer able to work in the DP camps in Western Germany.

4. Afford UN bodies full coöperation and free access.

South Africa was refusing to send in any more reports to the UN on the former Southwest Africa mandate territory, and had walked out of the Assembly Trusteeship Committee because the group agreed to hear a clergyman describe conditions in the area.

Britain, leading a parade of other colonial powers, served notice that it wouldn't comply with various new resolutions dealing with such proposals as flying the UN flag in the UN's own trusteeship territories and extending UN examinations of specific colonial problems.

5. Promote peaceful expression of political opposition and guarantee human rights.

Colombia's Presidential election had been preceded by so much terrorism that one of the two major parties boycotted it.

Iran was expelling 1,500 Iraqi nationals, mostly Jews, in retaliation for the alleged mistreatment of Iranians in Iraq.

President Truman's civil-rights program remained pigeonholed in Congress, and two state electorates had voted down poll-tax repeal.

6. Promote international efforts to achieve higher living standards.

American trade restrictions against Eastern Europe were being further tightened to bar reshipment of industrial exports from other countries to the Communist states.

Czechoslovakia and Poland had charged in the World Health Organization that the embargo even cut off equipment for manufacturing penicillin.

7. Remove the barriers to the free exchange of information and ideas.

Many a majority nation was insisting on censorship of its own press and foreign correspondents, and Argentine authorities were raiding the offices of the Associated Press, United Press and leading newspapers in an alleged checkup on financial aid to government opponents.

MARY DIX

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8. Participate fully in all UN work.	Only 18 nations belong to the International Refugee Organization, still caring for 400,000 World War II unfortunates and seeking their resettlement. UN trade, maritime and meteorological agencies hadn't recruited enough members to start regular operations.
9. Broaden Big Five coöperation and restrain Security Council vetoes.	Soviet vetoes 40 and 41 occurred on the day on which the five great powers—the US, USSR, Britain, France and China—had promised consultation before any more important Council voting. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Jacob A. Malik had suggested that the disarmament issues at stake might simply be reported to the Assembly without indorsement—as in fact was done after the vetoes were recorded.
10. Settle international disputes by peaceful means and coöperate in UN efforts to resolve major issues.	France was still trying to solve the problem of Viet Nam—which it has recognized as a separate state under ex-Emperor Bao Dai—by use of French troops against an insurgent Communist regime.
11. Coöperate in the effective international regulation of conventional armaments.	The Security Council had made agreement on a world police force a basic condition before any actual disarmament could take place. But it hadn't bothered to start work on a deadlock on that issue, which its Big Five Military Staff Committee had laid before it as far back as July, 1948.
12. Share national sovereignty for atomic control.	South Africa has been studying the implications of this proposal on its mining industry, linked with uranium ores, for more than a year. But it still hasn't made up its mind on the UN control plan, indorsed by all the other non-Communist nations with important atomic interests.

There is no question that, at least in some of these cases, good reasons lie behind the actions. Similarly, the Soviet Union has arguments to justify its deeds. But certainly some of these majority nations' deeds do not appear to square too easily with the "essentials of peace" recommendations so overwhelmingly and virtuously voted.

It would be interesting to see how many nations change any of their policies because of UN recommendations—the collective judgment of the world community in which they themselves have taken part.

During the peace debate, bearded Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan Foreign Minister, appealed for good deeds instead of more outpourings of words. He said there was a Punjabi proverb: "It is not the pilgrimage to Mecca that purifies the heart; it is the purity of the heart that makes the pilgrimage to Mecca worthwhile."

Peter Kihss has covered the United Nations for the New York Herald Tribune over the past four years. He joined the Herald Tribune staff in 1943 after nine years of newspaper work in Latin America, Washington and New York.

BIG BUSINESS "FRONTS"

by Jean Begeman

BIG BUSINESS has found that it can lobby most effectively in the name of "small business." Four organizations that are "fronts" for big business have been the subject of a study by the Select Committee on Small Business, headed by Representative Wright Patman (D, Tex.), which has looked into the financial backing, the boards of directors, and the literature distributed by the four lobby groups. Their titles, as well as their activities, are deceiving: National Small Business Men's Association, Small Business Economic Foundation, National Associated Businessmen, and National Tax Equality Association. Their financial backers include such little business firms as US Steel, Standard Oil, and various public utilities.

Thirteen years ago DeWitt Emery of Akron, Ohio, founded the National Small Business Men's Association "to give small business men a voice in national affairs and to preserve freedom of enterprise." He and his general counsel, J. Raymond Tiffany, who has law offices in New York City that serve as headquarters for the Association, still run the organization. The Congressional committee found that very little of the Association's program relates to small-business matters.

During the first session of the 81st Congress, the Association was one of 10 national organizations report-

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ing expenditures of more than $100,000 under the Lobby Registration Act. Emery's salary is listed at $18,000, and in addition he received sizable sums for "office rent," "letterheads" (printed by his own firm, the Monroe Letterhead Corporation, Akron) amounting to $10,000 last year. The team of Emery and Tiffany also heads the Small Business Economic Foundation, another front for big business. The Foundation, organized in 1946 for "the collection, compilation, interpretation, and dissemination of information, data, and educational material relative to freedom for America and Americans," stays in the background and is supported by an impressive list of top corporations.

In a letter, soliciting contributions for the Foundation early in its organization, Emery wrote potential backers: "Of course all of us like to 'know the company we are keeping,' so I thought it would be helpful in your case to attach a cross-section list of the better-known companies who have currently subscribed up to the acceptable $2,500 maximum." The attached list included 70 corporations, almost every one at least a million-dollar concern in total assets. Five—Standard Oil of New Jersey, US Steel, Standard Oil of Indiana, Socony-Vacuum, and the Texas Company—are billion-dollar concerns; 12 are $100 million enterprises—Sears, Roebuck; Chrysler Corporation, Republic Steel, Goodyear Tire & Rubber, Firestone Tire & Rubber; American Rolling Mill, Inland Steel, B. F. Goodrich, Celanese Corporation, Hiram Walker, Borg-Warner, and Marshall Field. "Subscriptions," the letter concluded, "are chargeable to business expense or to public relations." It was signed, "DeWitt Emery, President," and under that: "Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Liberty."

This letter was written for the Foundation on September 15, 1947. Another money-raising letter written for the Association on February 21, 1949, prophesied: "If the labor bosses and their radical and communistic cohorts can be stopped or slowed down to a walk on labor legislation, then there is a good chance of stopping most if not all of the Administration's program of national socialism." It was signed in the same manner, including the motto.

"Finally," the committee report states, "we also have a letter by Emery as president of the Foundation which seems to be directly referring to the Association as '*the* representative small-business group'." . . . "In our opinion, the Association cannot claim to be a simon-pure small-business organization" with such contributions from big business pouring into the operations of the Foundation and the Association, and "neither [group] can be disassociated from DeWitt Emery, and he cannot be fish in one and fowl in the other."

The Committee staff found that the two other organizations in question—the National Tax Equality Association and the National Associated Businessmen—present a duality of small-business organizations with many similarities to the Association and the Foundation. "In that complex," the report reveals, "NAB appears to be the 'grass roots' organization of NTEA, which has the big-business contributors, just as the Association may be regarded as the 'grass roots' organization working with the Foundation." Vernon Scott and Loring A. Schuler (Scott & Schuler, organization and industry counselors of Chicago and Washington) are the connecting link between the NAB and NTEA, a role comparable to that of Emery.

The activities of NTEA have been reported by the *New Republic* many times during the past years (most recently, the *NR*, December 19, 1949). Organized in 1943, NTEA retains Scott & Schuler, with Scott as executive vice-president. Its activities have related almost exclusively to a "tax equality" program directed against coöperatives. NTEA claims to be a research organization not subject to the terms of the Lobbying Act. However, it started filing returns last year and reported annual receipts of $500,000 and combined payments to Scott & Schuler of $48,000 a year plus substantial expenses (including free office space in its own Chicago offices).

The NAB, organized in 1946, has 35 state units. Since Scott & Schuler had a substantial part in their formation (Schuler was, and is, executive director of the NAB), many of the units still bear the name "Tax Equality." The NAB filed expenditures and receipts under the Lobbying Act totaling $30,000 for the first nine months of last year. (The NAB's receipts amounted to $50,000 in 1948.) Schuler received a $10,000 retainer from the NAB last year plus "free telephone service as well as office space." (In 1948 the NAB paid Scott & Schuler $20,000.) "The lobbying reports actually filed leave much to be desired," Patman's committee points out. "Inasmuch as NTEA and NAB, as well as state units, have jointly had the highly paid organizational and counseling services of Scott & Schuler, it is strange that such puzzling and sometimes conflicting reports under the Lobbying Act could result, except by some kind of design or calculated lack of design."

In a brief hearing before the committee early last year, Scott testified that he welcomed contributions from big business, and from public utilities in particular (Hearing, p. 1049). At the same time, NTEA-NAB literature features its purported representation of small business: "Members of the State [NAB] associa-

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tions are politically minded, small-business men," Schuler wrote Patman in April of last year. Garner M. Lester, president of NTEA, wrote Patman at the same time, that his "Small Business Committee and NTEA have the same purpose—serving the interest of small-business men." Yet, in its lobbying report last year, NTEA showed 43 contributors of more than $500. Of these, 16 were public utilities, including Consolidated Edison Company of New York, Inc., Southwestern Gas & Electric Company, Montana Power Company, and Columbus & Southern Ohio Electric Company. The committee report traces the pattern of contributions and expenditures of the two groups and finds a "complete circle." It begins with Scott & Schuler's original organizational interest in both, and continues with the large contributions to NTEA, including those of the public utilities. "The circle continues with NTEA's payments to NAB state units or their secretaries, proceeds with contributions of state units to NAB, and finally returns to Scott & Schuler with payments to them by NAB—payments to the same men who receive $48,000 a year plus $10,000 expenses from NTEA."

The report shows that both organizations have been "evasive" about their lobbying reports of contributions. It presents the programs of the four groups as evidence that their concern is not with the best interests of the small businessman. This case study would be a good starting point for the Special Committee to Investigate Lobbying Activities, headed by Representative Frank Buchanan (D, Pa.), which, so far, has just talked about investigations. Chairman Buchanan could do a great service by calling the four "fronts" for big business to testify in open hearings. As DeWitt Emery would say, "Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Liberty."

ASSAULT ON ANTI-TRUST

by Robert Wallace

ON APRIL 23, 1936, bids to furnish cement for a project in Tucumcari, New Mexico, were opened. There were 11 bidders. The first bid was $3.286854 per barrel. The second was $3.286854 per barrel. When all the bids had been opened, it was found that each had submitted a figure of $3.286854 per barrel—each was identical down to the last ten-thousandth of a cent. The cement companies insisted later that there was no collusion or conspiracy among them; that the fact that the bids were identical was an accident. Mathematician C. O. Oakley of Haverford College estimated that the chances of this being accidental were one in a quintillion.

In January, 1947, the Illinois Department of Highways opened bids to furnish cement for road-building projects in each of its 102 counties. Eight companies participated, and while bids varied between counties, they were all identical down to the last cent for each of the 102 individual counties. Professor Oakley calculated the mathematical probability of this happening by accident to be one chance in 8^{214}—about the same as the probability of being able to pick out one predetermined electron from the entire universe.

But the cement companies were right. There was no conspiracy in the usual sense. The executives of the company had not gotten together to decide what bid to submit. They had not even played golf together or attended a "Gary dinner." Such unsubtle methods of controlling prices had long since been discarded. The bids were identical because each company used the same formula for figuring its prices. This formula is generally known as the "basing-point system." With variations, it has been used to eliminate price competition on such products as cement, steel, corn, syrup, lumber, sugar, paper, roofing, glass, heavy chemicals, petroleum products, and a host of others.

The effects of the basing-point system go to the very roots of our national economy. It is a vehicle by which big business has been able to avoid the anti-trust laws and fasten its stranglehold on the American people. Congress spent weeks debating the subject last year and the fight is still going on. But despite the fundamental issues at stake, the press has printed very little about it and the basing-point system remains a mystery to most people. What is it, anyway?

When the basing-point system is mentioned, many think of "Pittsburgh plus," the pricing method used at one time by the steel industry. Under this system, customers all over the country were charged the "Pittsburgh price" plus railroad freight rates from the "basing point," which was Pittsburgh. This was done no matter where the steel was made or what the freight charges amounted to. Thus, steel mills in Chicago charged their local customers for freight from Pittsburgh to Chicago even though the steel never left Chicago. When this happened, their customers were

Robert Wallace is legislative assistant to Senator Paul Douglas (D, Ill.). Born in Oklahoma, he has studied at the University of Washington and the University of Chicago. When Douglas persuaded him to come to Washington, he was an instructor in Political Science at the Illinois Institute of Technology.

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compelled to pay for "phantom freight." On the other hand, when the same Chicago mills sold to customers in Pittsburgh, as they regularly did, the mills paid the freight themselves.

By using this simple formula—Pittsburgh price plus freight from Pittsburgh to point of delivery—mills throughout the country succeeded in quoting to prospective buyers, no matter where located, identical prices. The system was foolproof and ensured its users against the necessity of competing among themselves.

Pittsburgh-plus incorporated too many abuses to go unnoticed. It caused phantom-freight charges and it eliminated price competition. In addition, it embodied gross regional discriminations against buyers not located close to Pittsburgh by compelling those in cities such as Chicago and Detroit to pay higher prices.

In 1925, the Federal Trade Commission, in its case against US Steel, ordered this system stopped. But the steel industry abolished Pittsburgh-plus merely by adopting additional cities as basing points and establishing a "multiple" basing-point system—the same as Pittsburgh-plus except that there were several basing points instead of one. The delivered price for any particular buyer under the new system was computed as the established price at the basing point *nearest* to the buyer, plus rail freight from *that* point to his location.

So we see that the primary ingredients in any basing point-system are:

¶ Use of the established price at a basing point by all mills regardless of location. These "mill prices" may vary from one basing point to another, but a given customer is quoted only the price at the point nearest him.

¶ Use of rate books to figure railroad freight charges from the applicable basing point to the customer.

There are, therefore, no variables. All mills quote the same mill price and add the same freight charges to any given customer, which makes all price quotations identical. Since the basing-point system is used primarily among producers of standardized goods such as steel and cement, competition is eliminated. For such goods are made to the same specifications and do not compete in quality. Therefore, the only possible area of competition is in the price. With that identical, the buyer is left with no choice.

The multiple-basing-point system as practised by the cement companies (some of whose identical prices we noted in the beginning) was declared illegal by the Supreme Court in 1948. Pointing out the numerous instances of identical bids coupled with other evidence presented by the Federal Trade Commission in 50,000 pages of testimony, the Court declared that this system was maintained by conspiracy and agreement for the purpose of restraining competition. It was therefore prohibited by the Federal Trade Commission Act. But it meant that the FTC would still have to prove conspiracy by direct evidence in each case before it could stop other industries from using the system. For, according to this decision, identical prices or the use of the basing-point system alone did not constitute conspiracy. Other evidence, difficult to obtain, was needed.

Then, in April of 1949, the Supreme Court held in effect that the basing-point system itself was illegal when used by the producers of standardized products. It was declared illegal whether or not conspiracy could be proved, because identical prices themselves restrained competition among the producers of goods manufactured to the same specifications. The FTC, as a result of this decision, could end the practice.

Such decisions were body blows to the monopolists. Screaming like trapped panthers, they demanded that Congress place a moratorium (until this "confused" situation could be cleared up) on the operation of the anti-trust laws with respect to freight absorption and delivered pricing, both necessary for the operation of the basing-point system. This bill came before the Senate on May 31 of last year.

But Senator O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.) offered a substitute measure which would avoid a moratorium and settle the dispute immediately. To the delight of big business, his bill had the effect of legalizing the basing-point system by requiring the Federal Trade Commission to prove actual collusion before it could stop its use. The bill's passage would have meant continued uncertainty about the whole issue, reopening it to years of added litigation while the monopolists operated as they wished on the basing-point system. An added feature of the O'Mahoney bill was the weakening of the Robinson-Patman Act, the law originally passed in 1936 to protect small business from unfair discriminations practised against them by their big brothers.

All users of the basing-point system and their allies were solidly behind the bill. Many Senate liberals, unfamiliar with the issue, felt that it must be sound if O'Mahoney favored it because of his past record of fighting the trusts. Therefore, Senators Long (D, La.) and Kefauver (D, Tenn.), who were more familiar with the issues, had to content themselves with attempts to render the bill less harmful by amendments. They succeeded in getting the Kefauver amendments adopted; these took some of the sting out of the bill's mutilation of the Robinson-Patman Act. The O'Mahoney substitute, with the Kefauver amendments, passed in the Senate by voice vote.

The bill then went to the House, where it passed

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after its opponents had tacked on the Carroll (D, Colo.) amendments, which were similar to the Kefauver amendments. Senator Douglas (D, Ill.) later characterized the whole business by saying:

> The bill itself would pull the teeth of our anti-trust laws. The Kefauver and Carroll amendments are attempts to put the teeth back in, but, once pulled, true teeth can only be replaced with false teeth. Now, of course, false teeth are better than no teeth at all, but why pull out the good teeth in the first place? The bill, with amendments, should be defeated in its entirety.

The House then voted to send the bill to conference committee to iron out the differences between the House and Senate versions. Attempts in the Senate to send the bill to conference, however, met with determined opposition led by Senators Long and Douglas. Although they lost this skirmish, their opposition served to publicize the issues.

They discussed the basing-point system, bringing out:

¶ That it results in identical delivered prices among standardized goods, allowing no choice to the buyer and eliminating all competition.

¶ That it is uneconomical. Truck and barge rates are generally lower than railroad rates, but shipments are usually made by rail since those charges are included in the delivered price anyway.

¶ Further, it increases costs by causing needless "cross-shipping" of standardized products. This happens when a buyer close to one mill buys from another farther away, which he sometimes does, since prices are the same and there is no advantage in buying from the closer mill.

¶ It stymies industrialization of the South and West, since most basing points are already established in the North and East.

¶ It produces the same effect as an actual monopoly with all mills under the same ownership. A few leaders in an industry can set any price they please and charge whatever the traffic will bear. Independent companies, to avoid being driven out of business, are forced to charge the same.

Despite their detailed arguments, the opposition lost and the bill was sent to conference. The conference report was passed by the House, but again ran into the same stubborn opposition in the Senate. Feeling that a broader discussion of the issues would help them, the opposition played for time, and circumstances were in its favor. The conference report came up in October when everyone was trying to wind up the session. Senator Douglas spoke against the bill for four hours and moved to postpone consideration until 1950. Senator Long had threatened a filibuster against the bill and, meanwhile, small-business, labor and agricultural groups had begun to campaign against it. Even O'Mahoney, author of the original measure, opposed the conference report because it favored big business more than he had intended. All these factors combined to enable Douglas' motion to carry, which postponed consideration of the issue.

So the battle continues. Those opposing this onslaught of the monopolists are more confident now. They realize that the more they can center attention on the bill, the better their chances of killing it.

This may not be easy. The basing-point system does not directly affect the consumer, even though its indirect effects are vitally important. Users of the system sell primarily to builders and manufacturers, who in turn sell to the public. If the price fixing occurred in groceries or goods bought directly by the consumer, it would be simple to dramatize the issue. But this is not the case, and liberals in Congress must therefore point out that steel, cement, lumber, roofing and window glass make up a large portion of the cost of building. That steel is an important item of cost in automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, and many consumers' items. That corn syrup and sugar affect the price of candy, cake and other foods. That heavy chemicals affect numerous goods.

In addition, they must make the public aware of the lineup on this issue. On one side are the big-business interests and their apologists in the Senate such as Wherry (R, Neb.), Jenner, (R, Ind.) and Capehart (R, Ind.). On the other side, in opposition, are small-business groups, labor and farm organizations and economic liberals such as Senators Morse (R, Ore.), Douglas, Humphrey (D, Minn.), Long, and Representative Patman (D, Tex.).

Although liberals are not yet as aroused over this bill as they are over such issues as the Taft-Hartley Act, the Displaced Persons bill, and federal aid to education, it might be well to remember what happens when the monopolists and cartels get what they want. In Germany, they took over the state through Hitler, and Nazism was established. In England, big business grew so powerful that the people felt if they must have monopoly, it might as well be monopoly over which they could exert some control, and they socialized their basic industries.

Liberals in Congress reject both these alternatives. They object to both public and private monopoly and place their faith in free and fair competition as the economic system most conducive to maximum freedom and efficiency.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: Acheson vs. Acheson

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY has come to resemble a crazy quilt. Secretary Acheson announced in a firm voice that we would give no aid or comfort to the disreputable gang that operates in Formosa as the Chinese "Government." Then we shipped to Formosa a number of light Sherman tanks at $1,000 which had cost $27,057 each. Moreover, the pitiful price charged was paid with money that had been given by the 80th Congress to Chiang Kai-shek. Thus, the Secretary's brave and welcome words were practically coincidental with the sharply contradictory deed involved in forwarding American war supplies from Philadelphia to this island in the far-away Pacific. We may not intend to give money or materials of war to Chiang on Formosa, but, unfortunately, we had already given money, for a moiety of which we later supplied materials of war.

Bad as this was, an even worse situation developed on January 24 when the Secretary of State appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. On this occasion Mr. Acheson, who had announced a hands-off policy with respect to Chiang Kai-shek and Formosa, proposed, according to Homer Bigart, able Washington correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune*, that $106 million additional might be drawn upon by the Nationalist "Government" up to June 30, 1951. This is what was left of a larger sum recklessly appropriated by the 80th Congress at the behest of "economy-minded" Senators who should have known better. The original deadline for the use of this large sum had been set at February 15, 1950.

Senators Smith (R, N. J.) and Knowland (R, Calif.) wished this deadline to be extended to June 30 of this year. Great must have been their surprise when the Secretary of State went them several times better. Whereas, on January 12, he had announced in an impressive tone that we would not give money to Chiang for his desperate adventure in Formosa, twelve days later he suggested extending the credit not merely to June 30 of this year, but to June 30 of 1951. Here is a shell game if there ever was one. Lifting restrictions on money so that it may be spent cannot be distinguished from granting new money. In one breath, Mr. Acheson says, "No more money for Chiang." In the next, he declaims, "We will give you $106 million more by the simple device of changing a deadline."

Perhaps the average Chinese can reconcile Mr. Acheson's protestations with his acts better than some Americans have been able to do. It is to be hoped that the Chinese will overlook this aberration as a contrivance of political expediency and will not hold us in lesser regard merely because we are enabling the Nationalists to kill a few more of their countrymen.

Incidentally, in a dispatch from Washington in the New York *Times* under date of January 24, the outstanding Mr. James Reston wrote that, on January 12, Secretary of State Acheson "apparently did not really mean to make such a drastic charge" as that "the Soviet Union is detaching the northern provinces of China from China and is attaching them to the Soviet Union." This charge was vehemently denied by Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky. According to Mr. Reston's dispatch, this statement by Mr. Acheson was "ad-libbed." It was not included in the notes from which the Secretary spoke. It would not only be disturbing to the American people but embarrassing to us in our foreign relations if formal statements by our Secretary of State should come to be generally unacceptable for not hewing precisely to the line of accuracy.

There also seems to be some connection, as yet not clearly understood, between Mr. Acheson's Formosa pronunciamento and his unexpected proposal to appease the Spanish dictator, Franco. Was the hurried retreat by Mr. Acheson as to Franco an attempt to mitigate the criticism of those Senators who would give still further aid to Chiang Kai-shek? If it was, it was ill conceived and clumsily executed. Mr. Acheson now finds himself between the crossfire of those who are demanding his head for at least trying to be a statesman with reference to Formosa and Chiang and those —including some of our allies during the late war— who regard the full recognition of Franco and the doling out to him of American money as a betrayal of democracy and a repudiation of all that we fought for and won against Franco's fellow dictators, Hitler and Mussolini. Some day, of course, the truth will be known, but it does not require any more information than has been vouchsafed to us to come to the conclusion that, as to Spain, a diplomatic blunder of the first order has been made, such a blunder as will not be atoned for even if we do not do another *volte-face* with respect to Chiang.

And, while on the subject of "crazy quilts," attention might be called to our protestations of friendship to Palestine while we permit—if, indeed, we have not encouraged—the shipment of arms by Great Britain to three Arab states whose only possible use for them would be against Palestine. HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

LIPPMANN AND CRIPPS: A CONTRAST IN LIBERALS

by Alexander H. Uhl

FOR EIGHTEEN YEARS, Walter Lippmann has been analyzing political, economic and social problems for the instruction of a good many million Americans. Now the process has been reversed and we have an analysis, no less painstaking, of Walter Lippmann. It is not a flattering analysis, but, in keeping with its subject, it is done dispassionately and with an obvious desire for fairness. There are tart judgments, to be sure, but they are the tart judgments of a scholar rather than those of a polemicist. Nevertheless, they leave Lippmann rather well stripped of whatever reputation as a "liberal" may still cling to him.

WALTER LIPPMANN: A STUDY IN PERSONAL JOURNALISM, by David Elliott Weingast. With an Introduction by Harold L. Ickes (Rutgers University Press; $3).

STAFFORD CRIPPS: MASTER STATESMAN, by Eric Estorick (John Day; $5).

David Elliott Weingast has not written a conventional biography, although the essential biographical outline is presented. He offers, rather, a scientific analysis of Lippmann's political and social thinking from the days when he was an assistant muckraker to Lincoln Steffens, through the period when Amos Pinchot could write of him bitingly as an "obfuscator de luxe," to his apotheosis today as a pundit.

Weingast uses the pollster's technique in tabulating Lippmann's stand on many of the controversial issues of the New Deal period; the results show a decided finickiness toward the underdog. Weingast finds, for instance, that Lippmann was 63-percent unfavorable to the first Agricultural Adjustment Act; 84-percent unfavorable to the National Industrial Recovery Act; 100-percent hostile to the old Wagner Act; wobbly on the social-security program, and 94-percent unfavorable to the wages-and-hours legislation of 1937-38. The technique, of course, has its limitations and pitfalls. But in each case Dr. Weingast has accompanied his statistics with an analysis of the columns in question, adding pertinent quotations in support of his final judgment of Lippmann's stand. He concludes:

> While there is much to be said for an unhurried and philosophical approach to social reform, a point is reached beyond which continued insistence on perfection means frustration and defeat. Lippmann's inability to accept most New Deal measures in their entirety meant that in effect he ranged himself with the enemies of this legislation. In virtually every case he approved of the principle while rejecting the legislative embodiment. If his arguments had convinced a majority of legislators, the New Deal would at best have added up to an innocuous set of half-measures.

Dr. Weingast has also devoted a chapter to an analysis of those groups within our society to whom Lippmann appeals. Gone are the young "liberals" of the early twenties for whom Lippmann was a bright beacon. Instead, the author finds that even during the high-water mark of its radicalism, Lippmann's writing was "not without its reassurances to industry," and while sometimes critical, his discussions of economic affairs "have been calculated to bring comfort to business." Citing examples of Lippmann's skepticism of majority rule, Weingast adds, "In deriding the concept of majority rule and the capacity of the people to understand basic issues, Lippmann identified himself with those who distrust democratic processes and favor a ruling elite."

Many of the characteristics that mark Lippmann's writing on domestic affairs are present in his discussions of foreign policy: the careful balancing of factors, the approval of principles while rejecting the methods of attainment. Lippmann, to his great credit, has been one of those rare American commentators who has sought to mitigate, rather than exacerbate, the effects of the cold war with Russia. Yet, he accepts largely the inevitability of that conflict and spends much of his time telling us how to wage it successfully.

The picture that emerges from this biography is of the "upper-middle-class intellectual," humanist in instinct, respectful of learning and of property, balancing so gracefully between one side and the other that his "golden mean" becomes meaningless at best and special pleading at worst. Lippmann's evolution, as told in this biography, is the story of a man who is well aware of social and economic injustices, who wants change, but always change that will not upset society as he knows it. He grows impatient with the stubbornness of business and industry in thinking that life can go on forever in the same course. Yet he writes always as the highly civilized, politically wise professor patiently seeking to save his students from themselves.

Weingast concludes his excellent study with the suggestion that "the public interest makes it imperative that the other columnists, most of whom have neither the talent nor training of Walter Lippmann, be even more subject to careful scrutiny." There should be hearty agreement with this suggestion. Lippmann does not offer the best target; it is almost impossible to discuss him without pulling punches. As Harold Ickes writes, with unaccustomed mildness, in an introduction to Dr. Weingast's book: "A commentator on political and social developments, if he is thoughtful

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and conscientious, is entitled to respect, even if one may frequently differ with him." There are many commentators, including the radio breed of "objective" newscasters, whose intellectual bombast, irresponsible political and social press agentry, and essential ignorance are worthy of no respect at all. Weingast would do well to tackle some of them.

Almost simultaneously with the Lippmann study appears a biography of Sir Stafford Cripps, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, by Eric Estorick. It is impossible to read this biography without making comparisons with the book on Lippmann. Both men are intellectuals; both are upper-middle-class. They have a similar humanistic and even Puritanical approach to today's problems. Yet Lippmann, who started out a Socialist—a tepid one, to be sure, but nevertheless a Socialist—is now the scholarly defender of the private-property, capitalist world. While Cripps, who started life as a scientist, a lawyer destined to earn fabulous fees, and a business organizer, is now one of Britain's most powerful Socialists.

Cripps, as Estorick somewhat fulsomely tells us in the early chapters of his book, came from a brilliant and highly social-minded family. His father, Charles Alfred Cripps, was a lawyer who "lifted his family from the ranks of the squirearchy to the aristocracy by becoming a baron, Lord Parmoor." Although born a Conservative, Parmoor ultimately became a minister in two Labour Governments. Sir Stafford's aunt, Beatrice Potter—Mrs. Sidney Webb—was one of the influences of his life. Yet it was not until 1929—when he was 40 years old and a highly successful King's Counsel—that Cripps joined the Labour Party and espoused Socialism.

Estorick traces the Crippsian Socialism through exceedingly interesting phases. There was first the primitive Christian Socialist angered by the injustices of the property system which he saw around him. There was then the doctrinaire Socialist who saw capitalism doomed and whose "revolutionary" talk frightened some of his supporters. Then there was the United Front Socialist, just before World War II, who, as Estorick put it, thought of the United Front not in terms of "an alliance of classes, as propounded by the Communists, but as an alliance of people of all classes" against Hitler. Finally, there is Cripps the Socialist of today to whom the crisis appears "no longer exclusively as an economic problem but a moral problem, the control of material things by the spirit, through nationalist governments elected by the operation of political democracy."

Except for a brief epilogue, Estorick ends his book with Cripps standing before the House of Commons on July 7, 1949, justifying his stand against devaluation of the pound and fighting for a planned economy. "Thus," Estorick comments, "he proclaimed to all the world that what he believes to be the Christian 'middle of the road' way of life, the answer to Britain's and the world's economic problems, is Democratic Socialism as against political democracy in the U. S. A., dominated by monopoly capitalism or the economic power of the few, and on the other side as against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, dominated by the Communist Party."

The book, unfortunately if perhaps unavoidably, ends at this point and we have no clues to the compulsions, whether from at home or abroad, that drove Cripps within a few weeks to reverse himself and devalue the pound. The book, too, lacks any statement on the presumed changes in Cripps's attitude toward the Russians. There is much detail on his friendship

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for the USSR in the thirties and his championship of a Russo-British alliance, as well as his strong support for unstinting help to the Russians during the war. Estorick says that Cripps now shares the view of his fellow Labour leaders toward the Soviet Union, but gives no details as to this transformation. Cripps, of course, is the second most powerful figure in a British Socialist Government that is waging the cold war with almost as much intensity as the United States and that, by and large, is following a foreign policy in many parts of the world strikingly unlike most of Cripps's own political preaching. Logical reasons for this can perhaps be deduced, but an up-to-date analysis of Cripps's thinking on these subjects would have been valuable. Estorick, too, goes into great detail in telling of Cripps's expulsion from the Labour Party before World War II. It comes, then, as a shock to have his return to the party dismissed curtly in a single sentence.

The book, although a worthwhile contribution to general knowledge of one of the most interesting men of our era, suffers from excessive adulation. Cripps is a man who has made some extraordinarily interesting political meanders in his life; it is just possible that there were moments when he was wrong. Estorick is content to wander along with him, happily convinced that his hero was in step when everyone else in the Labour Party was out of step. That may be true; but a more detailed demonstration of his acumen would have made this biography infinitely more valuable.

Alexander H. Uhl is former Foreign Editor of the newspaper PM and spent many years in Europe as correspondent for the Associated Press. He has been specializing in foreign-affairs reporting in Washington, and is now a free-lance writer.

CHOICES STILL OPEN

LIVING WITH CRISIS, by Fritz Sternberg (John Day; $2.50).

IN THIS LITTLE BOOK Dr. Sternberg sketches with bold, clear strokes an outline picture of world crisis: a crisis compounded of American economic instability, the disruption of Europe's long established relation to the rest of the world economy, the threat of political reaction in the West and the existence of intensified dictatorship in the Soviet Union.

The book can be viewed as a first-rate introduction to world politics for the uninitiated reader, but it is more than that. Students of world affairs will find it helpful in clarifying their thinking and improving their perspective on major world problems. It would make an excellent basis for discussion by a group of political and economic experts.

A good example of the contribution Dr. Sternberg makes to the clarification of current political thinking is his treatment of the Russian dictatorship. All too often the dictatorship is either condemned out of hand, or, in the process of being explained by its friends, is explained away. Dr. Sternberg avoids both these extremes. He shows that the dictatorship, far from being merely the creation of evil, power-drunk men, is a product of definite economic and political pressures. "But," and this is where Dr. Sternberg parts company with the Communists and their fellow travelers, "this is no reason why the masses in industrial Europe should accept such a dictatorship." He is convinced, moreover, that if they have any choice in the matter they will not accept it.

The continued existence of that choice depends in large part, as the author points out, on American foreign policy. If the United States uses its influence to obstruct the socialization of industry, as it has done so far in the Ruhr, and as many businessmen and politicians would have it try to do in Great Britain, European workers may be forced to turn to the Communists, despite their dislike of Russian dictatorship, as the only alternative to political and economic reaction. Fortunately, American policy is not immutable. Labor and liberal forces gave an encouraging demonstration of their strength in the election last fall and should be able, as they become more aware of the issues involved, to exert increasing influence on foreign policy. Also, in England, the Labour Party people have shown they don't scare easily. There is thus good reason to hope for a peaceful, democratic solution of Europe's problems; but it is essential that American labor and liberals realize the scope and urgency of their task.

On some questions I came away from the book still unconvinced of the wisdom of the policies Dr. Sternberg recommends. Most important of these is his proposal for a United States of Europe. As far as trade is concerned, the countries of Western and Central Europe need close ties with the countries of South America, the Commonwealth and Eastern Europe far more than they need close ties with one another. Hopes that a great increase in productivity could be obtained through a planned relocation of European industry should be viewed with caution. It is by no means certain that much would be gained by reshuffling two economies that are as similar as, for instance, those of England and Germany. And the obstacles even under a common socialist government would, as Dr. Sternberg recognizes, be vast.

Political unity is necessary, Dr. Sternberg argues, to enable Europeans to protect themselves against both Russia and the United States. The Europeans he has in mind are those laborites and socialists who are unwilling to accept either capitalist or communist domination. But would their chances actually be better in a United States of Europe than outside it?

Consider, for instance, the position of the British Labour Party. Joining a United States of Europe would not significantly lessen its dependence on American economic aid, except, perhaps, in the very long run. Nor would it eliminate its need of military assistance for some time to come. Thus the Labour Party would not get rid of the problem of American influence. On the other hand, entering a European union might actually weaken its position. It would come up against new groups of reactionaries, quite as strong as and considerably more vicious than its own, while gaining only the aid of a badly divided labor movement. I am inclined to think that socialists who

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argue for European union as an immediate goal are putting the cart before the horse. A federation of democratic, socialist countries is highly desirable, but there is no reason to limit it to Europe alone. On the other hand, disaster might overtake a European federation formed before the democratic, socialist forces in some of the leading countries have become stronger than they now are.

There is much else in Dr. Sternberg's book that invites discussion; his analysis of our unstable postwar prosperity in the United States, for instance, or his brief sketch of postwar social forces in Germany. A really adequate review would, however, run into the danger of becoming a book considerably larger than the original.

ALAN R. SWEEZY

Alan Sweezy, on leave from Williams College, is at present teaching economics at the California Institute of Technology. He has worked for the Federal Reserve Board and the Treasury Department.

OUTLOOK AND REALITY

THE NATURE-NURTURE CONTROVERSY, by Nicholas Pastore. With a Foreword by Goodwin Watson (King's Crown Press, Columbia University Press; $3.25).

AN EXTREME EXAMPLE of how a choice between scientific theories may be dictated by social outlook is provided in the recent Soviet action exiling the Mendelian concept of heredity and ensconcing Lysenko's opposing view that traits acquired from the environment can be inherited. The Soviets' desire to assert that they can improve future generations by education and betterment of living conditions has led them to reject a principle of biology long accepted by almost all geneticists who are beyond government control.

It is Nicholas Pastore's thesis, sponsored by Professor Goodwin Watson of Teachers College of Columbia University, that social outlook also determines the choice between theories in science itself. He has examined the publications of two dozen social scientists, including biologists and psychologists, in an effort to correlate their attitude on social problems with their position in the ancient controversy on the relative importance of heredity and of environment in the development of an individual.

Despite the title, this controversy is in itself not discussed in Dr. Pastore's book. It is merely adopted as a significant argument on which no factual or scientific decision is now possible, yet one which has been debated in its intellectual, social and logical aspects for centuries. Since competent thinkers disagree in their interpretations, it is assumed in this study that adherence by a scientist to a given inclusive interpretation (heredity or environment) represents an arbitrary judgment.

The words of 24 British and American scientists, who had taken sides in this controversy and had also publicly expressed their social and political views between 1900 and 1940, were combed for possible correlations. The results confirm the thesis. Twelve turned out to be environmentalists: William C. Bagley, Franz Boas, James McKeen Cattell, Charles Horton Cooley, Frank N. Freeman, J. B. S. Haldane, Lancelot Hogben, Herbert S. Jennings, Hermann J. Muller, George D. Stoddard, Lester F. Ward and John B. Watson. All these, with the exception of John B. Watson, are classified as either liberals or radicals. The other twelve, William Bateson, Charles B. Davenport, Edward M. East, Francis Galton, Henry H. Goddard, Leta S. Hollingworth, William McDougall, Karl Pearson, Paul Popenoe, Lewis Madison Terman, Edward Lee Thorndike and Frederick A. Woods, are hereditarians and, with the exception of Lewis Terman, are conservatives.

Dr. Pastore concludes that "the two variables are interrelated in the thought patterns of the various scientists." Hence the nature-nurture controversy is as much sociological in nature as it is scientific. He admits that the sampling may not be representative and that it is in some cases impossible to be sure that social views have been fully expressed. His choice was limited to the relatively few scientists who take definite positions on social and political matters.

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to the suggestion that a similar study should be made on the possible correlation between social outlook and contribution to research. One can suspect that scientists who are essentially teachers and expositors are more likely to lean toward authority and stability, therefore conservatism, while those who are essentially creative in research are more likely to consider the present world imperfect, more eager to improve it, and are thus liberal or even radical. Such a study would involve difficult evaluations of research ability and of teaching ability but it would be of great value in establishing the essential social function of research itself.

GERALD WENDT

Gerald Wendt is the author of Science for the World of Tomorrow, The Atomic Age Opens and other books. He was formerly science editor of Time and editorial director of Science Illustrated.

BRIEF COMMENT

James Fenimore Cooper, by James Grossman (William Sloane Associates; $3.50).

James Grossman's study is the latest volume in The American Men of Letters Series. It fulfills its purpose with wit, grace and an intelligence critical of Cooper's work and of the time when he was perhaps the foremost literary figure in the country.

As literary criticism, the book revaluates Cooper's extraordinarily copious production. Since almost everything he wrote except the *Leatherstocking* series has been forgotten, this necessitates what would ordinarily be excessive summarizing of numerous books. And because Grossman is reconstructing Cooper's career and the cast of his mind from these books, he may seem to overemphasize the "brilliant glimpses of truth" in very uneven novels.

Cooper's career Grossman characterizes as "his quarrel with his country." He was one of the most astute critics of a young republic that had no lack of voluble observers, and he was rewarded for his penetration by a resentment that amounted almost to ostracism. The irony of his career is that he "had no taste for the attitudes of rebellion and arrived at his most original and unpopular views by believing that they were the true orthodoxy." Which is to say, he "saw as a fundamental problem of democracy his own right to be different and on his own terms." Cooper's was an essentially aristocratic nature, a throwback to an earlier American type of "gentleman," and the pathos of his case is itself a criticism of the national equation of equality with uniformity.

The House of Certain Death, by Albert Cossery. Translated by Stuart B. Kaiser (New Directions; $1.50).

The "house" is a Cairo tenement on the verge of collapse. While its utterly demoralized inhabitants await with peculiar resignation "their definite and noble fate," the author (young Egyptian novelist and protégé of Henry Miller) has a chance to demonstrate and meditate upon "the terrors and delusions of the poor." The demonstration is lively; the narrative swarms with a low animation, but the symbolism of "the house collapsing into dusty ruin" is established too late in the book, and it ends gratuitously on the assurance that "the future is full of revolt." J. F.

Stage to Screen: Theatrical Method from Garrick to Griffith, by A. Nicholas Vardac (Harvard University Press; $6).

Most discussions of the motion picture emphasize the undeniable differences between stage and screen, indulging in the belief that the cinematic approach meant a departure from the ways of the theatre and was found to be so in the childhood days of the medium. Vardac qualifies, if he does not upset, this belief by demonstrating that the nineteenth-century theatre prepared the ground for the cinema; that it was in effect animated by the very pictorial realism that we consider an exclusive property of the screen.

Tapping largely unexplored sources, he analyzes the popular melodramas and spectacle plays of the period, in particular the productions of Henry Irving, Steele MacKaye and David Belasco. He finds that the theatre not only aspired to what he calls photographic truthfulness, but anticipated such cinematic devices as the lap-dissolve, the fade-out and the fade-in. The settings had to appear authentic; scenes not essential to the plot were inserted because of their pictorial value; and the mass of visual effects increasingly smothered the dialogue. The silent film grew organically out of a theatre that tried to evoke the illusion of real life; and it took over when the theatre itself could go no farther in this direction. Accordingly, Vardac makes the primitive cinema look like a straight extension of theatrical art: from Lumière to Griffith, the film makers capitalized on well-established stage themes and stage techniques.

The one-sidedness of this viewpoint scarcely needs stressing. In identifying the film as a derivative of the nineteenth-century theatre, Vardac fails to account for its non-theatrical features. His attempts to relate the inherent documentary tendency of the medium to contemporary stage developments are highly artificial; nor does he succeed in settling the theatrical origin of slapstick. What allies the two media is clear; what separated them from the outset is omitted or obscured. Vardac's great merit is to shed light on the dark beginnings of the cinema and thus to dispel certain misunderstandings which have threaded our literature. As a first-hand exploration of pertinent nineteenth-century trends his book is an important contribution.

SIEGFRIED KRACAUER

ON THE AIR: Television On Its Own

TELEVISION has another achievement to its credit. It has brought a good movie actor, who has at times also shown sense and sensitivity as director, back to show business. Robert Montgomery had wandered off. In fact, on the ABC network, Thursdays at 9:45, he is still far out in right field. There, as a crusader, he does battle against an assortment of dragons. British Socialism and world Communism are on his agenda, as well as organized crime and high taxes viewed from the perch of the NAM.

But NBC still relies on faithful H. V. Kaltenborn for oracular chores, and it has hired Montgomery in a different capacity. It bills him as the movie personality, "personally" presenting as producer an hour-long television program called "Your Lucky Strike Theatre," promising "famous Hollywood stars in person" playing "famous Hollywood scripts and stories." Despite this percussive build-up, Montgomery looked happily and usefully at home on "your" cigarette stage.

The first play in the repertory was Somerset Maugham's "The Letter,"

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starring Madeleine Carroll, with other principal parts played by Howard Wierum, William Post Jr., Ted Newton and Ivan MacDonald. Between Montgomery as producer and Norman Felton as director, such emotional qualities as Maugham's overworked piece still possesses were brought to the fore by studied understatement. Montgomery and Felton were careful to put Miss Carroll through her role quietly. Wierum, as the trigger-happy lady's husband, was either miscast or couldn't quite let himself be braked; but the rest of the players were excellent. John Gart supplied music that supported the mood, and Syrjala's sets were effective and appropriate.

On NBC, Montgomery is in his proper slot, and television gains another good dramatic program. The only drawback is that the time of the new show—Mondays, 9:30 to 10:30—cuts into CBS's "Studio One," which runs from 10 to 11 the same night. But Montgomery is entitled to that much strategy in the battle of free enterprise. It's when he practises his inalienable right to sound off with nonsense over ABC's radio that I want to tune him out.

NBC's appointment of Montgomery as an executive producer in television has been hailed in the industry as a step toward bridging the gap between the movies and the new medium. While TV has lots to learn from the best in Hollywood—as well as from other arts—what it needs most now is not a bridge but a realization that it must stand on its own. So far, when it has not leaned on Hollywood it has clung largely to the rut of New York's radio row. Only in Chicago, physically separated from the two seacoast centers, is there a noticeable spirit of experimentation.

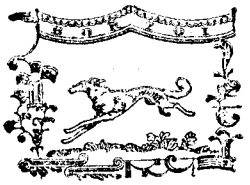
I mentioned here recently two excellent Chicago creations, both on NBC. These are the nightly "Kukla, Fran and Ollie" half-hour, where puppeteer Burr Tilstrom builds a children's show as adult as *Alice in Wonderland*; and "Garroway at Large," in which Dave Garroway proves every Sunday night that, by comparison with the flexibility of TV's cameras, Hollywood's picture machines are clumsy old Brownies. Now, also out of Chicago, NBC is bringing another imaginative production. This one, broadcast from eight to nine on the title night, is called "Saturday Square."

The "Square" is a neighborhood center in a large city. It is peopled with musicians holding jam sessions, Saroyanesque bartenders, con-men and touts, old ladies in brownstone houses, and just ordinary young couples fresh out of Vandalia (Ill.). Little attempt is made to integrate the various stories as these unfold on the street or in the saloon or in the homes or in the neighborhood record emporium where the hepcats show off for one another with spirited Dixieland. The camera and the microphone on its unseen boom simply eavesdrop on life; "Saturday Square" is a passing show enacted and televised by a group of artists working on their own, without reference to the worn-out techniques of any of the older acting media. These Chicago programs are more than stimulating—they are encouraging.

When commercial television learns in New York and Hollywood the Chicago lesson, perhaps it will then turn to its charter and discover that it is legally bound to furnish education and information also. I know of only one station—and it is not going formally on the air until February 20—devoted solely to TV's educational possibilities. That station is WOI-TV, owned by Iowa State College at Ames.

With no commercial television station operating as yet in the nearest large city, Des Moines, the college outlet will at first show some regular network programs, but the college will exercise a contractual right to reject commercial stuff it considers unsuitable. Its motive will be real service for the schools and the area's large agricultural population. Richard B. Hull, manager of the station, is developing new programs and new production techniques to serve his audiences. With Chicago and Ames in the picture, there is some hope that television may yet progress.

SAUL CARSON



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THEATRE: Cocktail Poetry

As WITH the other arts, drama achieves greatness only as it attains the poetic. Poetry here signifies an ultimate of intensity and essential statement, which transcends the limited meaning of the subject matter presented. Cézanne's apples are poetic because they are "more" than apples.

The use of verse in the writing of a play does not make it poetic. One might say, however, that the verse play is, at least, a recognition of the exalted ends toward which drama should aspire. The best playwrights of our day are trying to make poetry of their drama. Some of the best poets are trying to make drama of their poetry. Very few of the verse plays are either poetry or drama.

In "The Cocktail Party," T. S. Eliot has managed to make some of his verse patterns and his interest in the dramatic form not only popularly palatable but even theatrically slick. "The Cocktail Party" is neither a difficult nor an esoteric play. Its approach may be termed fashionable. It makes Eliot's message modish. From this standpoint, "The Cocktail Party" is a real accomplishment, but in my opinion it reflects glamor without glory on its author.

The writing, though plain, is distinguished, its mental attitude shrewd as well as witty, the choice of types—there are no characters—cleverly trite. Eliot's "hero" is a composite of an Anglican minister, a suave psychotherapist and a debonair gentleman who quotes Eliot. The plot is an old-fashioned marital mess, discussed with the gossipy frankness characteristic of the well-to-do intelligentsia. The philosophy or morality is the last word in saying very little with a charming air of antiseptic profundity. In a word, "The Cocktail Party" is a masterpiece of the felicitously phony.

"The Cocktail Party" is a successful experiment in form for the use of the contemporary stage; the production given it by the English company headed by Alec Guinness and directed by Martin Browne is admirably intelligent. But I have no wish to conceal the fact that I cannot think of the play without a certain degree of indignation. For despite Eliot's earnestness, I see in his play nothing less than a poisonously hypocritical emollient which the pseudo-serious will lap up like a God-given nostrum, a strong but sugared curative which the simple and naïve will regret that they cannot take.

We all recognize by now that modern man is perturbed, that humanity is in a state of psychic "chassis"—as O'Casey's Captain Boyle would say. What Eliot tells us in "The Cocktail Party" is that a civilized acceptance of our confusion, provided we do not engage in "lunacy, violence, stupidity and greed," is a good life. For the saints, of course, there is faith—"the kind of faith that issues from despair." Of this more blessed condition, Eliot says: "The destination cannot be described. . . . You will know very little until you get there." In the meantime, we are sagely advised, "Neither way is better. Both ways are necessary." In other words, live as you are living—the ordinary miserable life—and if while doing so you confess yourself a fool and do as little harm as possible, you will be about as good as you can be. If you are one of the elect, you will choose a path of noble self-immolation, through which you will "avoid the final desolation of solitude in the phantasmal world of imagination, shuffling memories and desire." Well, then: Is everybody happy? Are you inspired?

Eliot's message is a pessimistic and devitalized defense of the status quo, which suggests no ultimate good, except a saintliness without substance. It is basically a bloodless doctrine designed for the permanently and complacently wounded in the most expensive sanitariums.

Jean Giraudoux, who was a political conservative, criticized our society because it denies the basic needs of man, which he treasured as the sufficient good of life. In this sense, he was a true moral classicist, and his plays, written in an exquisite minor key, are lyric expressions of the Frenchman's love for his little village (which may even be Paris). His disappointment at what has been done to it takes the form of a capricious and

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colorful wit, it is the negative which always contains the positive of that love. Giraudoux's "The Enchanted" in prose contains more genuine poetry than "The Cocktail Party," but the production of the French play lacks lightness, fancy or fragrance, and is, except for Poulenc's little score, an almost complete miss. . . . I enjoyed Michael Benthall's production of "As You Like It," a play that is in itself a work of pure music. The production is rather traditional, even conventional, without being musty. In its gentle graciousness—to which James Bailey's scenery and costumes, tastefully rich and vaporously fine as the courtly eighteenth-century English landscape painting, contribute much—the production reminded me of the quality of the Sadler's Wells Ballet. Katharine Hepburn plays Rosalind not as a star but as a devoted member of an endearing company. HAROLD CLURMAN

(Continued from page 4)

of our national product has not been successful in this postwar period because there has been no check upon profit levels and upon the extent to which prices can be raised. It seems to me that it would be wise to combine the economic policy and goals of the Council, the collective-bargaining program of trade unions, and effective public hearings to cast light upon the wage-price-profit structure. . . .

On the practical side . . . the Council has made some positive and immediate recommendations which, if carried through Congress, would strengthen our economy. These proposals relate to new houses, a sound farm program, increases in the whole social-security program, public power projects, and government expenditures and fiscal policy.

Where the Council is weak, and here I agree with Mr. Lester, is in the field of tax policy. The Council could, and should . . . have boldly followed through with their concept of a high-consumption economy by pointing out the role of taxes. Increases in personal income-tax exemptions, reduction in excise taxes are essential progressive tax measures that are directed at raising consumer income. . . . The revenue lost through increasing exemptions and reducing excises could well be made up by plugging the many loopholes in our existing tax structure and by the enactment of an undistributed and/or excess-profits tax.

The Council's analysis and review of economic facts in these reports continue to make an important contribution to an understanding of our economy. . . .

STANLEY H. RUTTENBERG, Director, Department of Education and Research, CIO

Washington, D. C.

BANDWAGON

To Prevent Misunderstanding

Prince Philip and the Dukes of Gloucester and Windsor can't vote. The law denies the ballot to peers, bishops and lunatics. Philip, Gloucester and Windsor are peers. – *From the Springfield (Mass.) Union.*

Q. E. D.

PM or PU or Marshall Field's thing finally rotted into a political putrescence called The Star. This, in turn, degenerated into a morbid and apparently terminal mess of interest mainly to students of abnormality. . . . I abhor exaggeration in journalism. – *From Westbrook Pegler's syndicated column.*

Hic Jacet Logic

Of course, many factors other than medical care need be taken into account, and absolute conclusions should not be drawn from any one set of statistics, or on too brief a period. But it does seem that the additional tombstones in the British cemeteries—72,125 more than in the year before the National Health Program went into effect—are grim signposts on which we can read: "Never take this road for a National Health Program." – *Harold E. Stassen in the* Reader's Digest.

As the Twig Is Bent

Illustrating the inflation that is creeping over the nation, are the toys being exhibited in the store windows. . . . When the child is started with such expensive toys he will later demand proportionately expensive things in clothes, motor cars, college education, etc., as he grows up. This means that the father must have more income; this encourages the labor union movement and all the industrial troubles that go therewith. – *From Roger Babson's syndicated column.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

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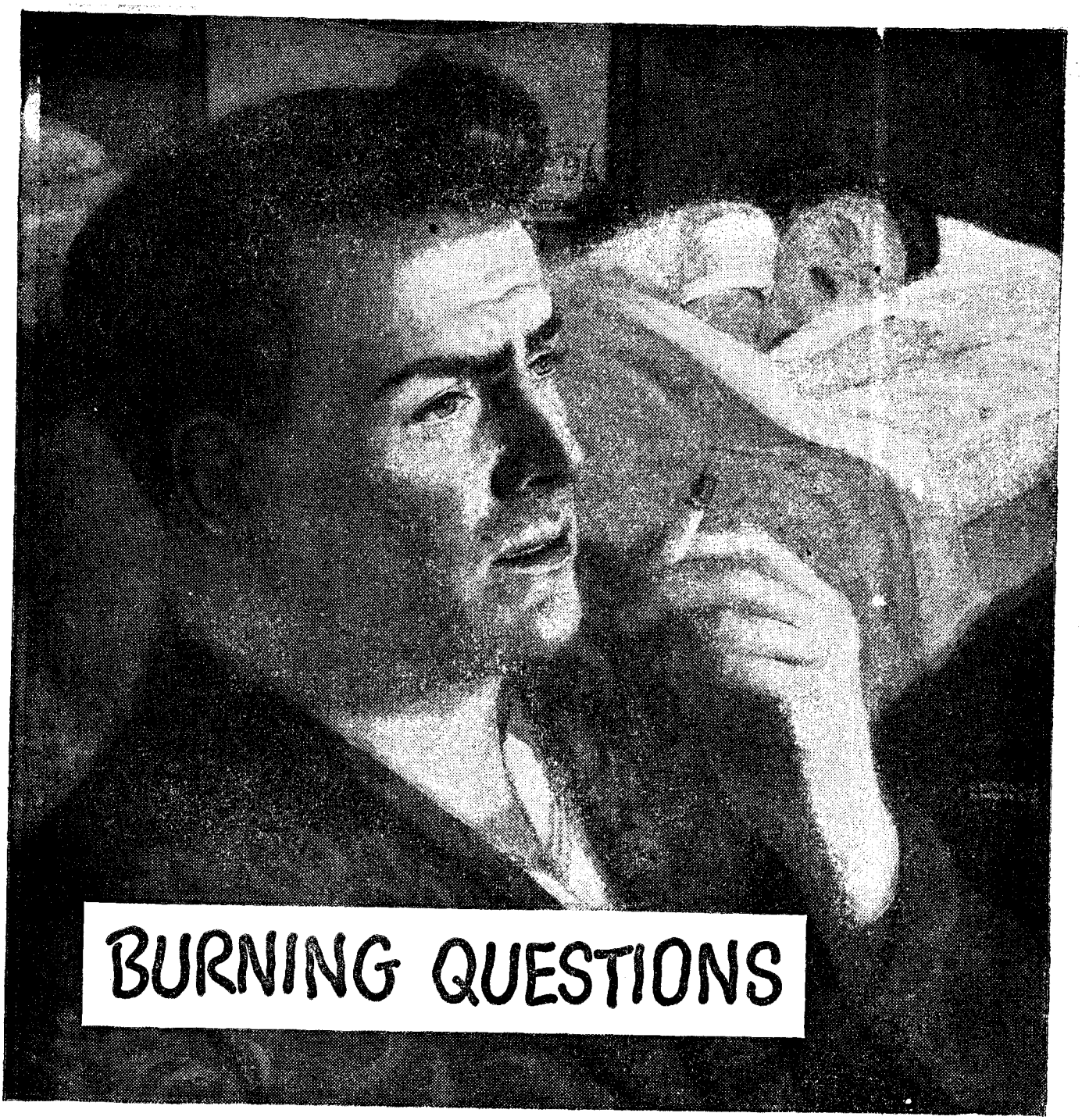

Late at night, some men do their hardest worrying. Each thought glimmers and glows like the burning end of a cigarette. Chain-thoughts like these:

"How am I doing my job? Have I already reached my top? Are my best earning years numbered?

"And how will that affect my other job—as husband, father, family provider? Will I be able to do the things we've planned? What about college for the children? And our home—will I always be able to meet payments?"

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